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*A Political and  
Cultural History of  
Modern Europe*

*In Four Volumes, Volume 2*

55,600

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*by Carlton J. H. Hayes*

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PUBLISHED FOR THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES INSTITUTE  
BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

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Washington 25, D.C. 3 July 1944

EM 238, *A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, Volume 2,  
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[A. G. 300.7 (3 July 44).]

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PART III  
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REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENTS  
OF THE MODERN WORLD

- X. THE BRITISH REVOLUTIONS
- XI. THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION
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# CHAPTER X

## THE BRITISH REVOLUTIONS

### I. REACTION TO ABSOLUTE MONARCHY



INGSHIP was the prevalent political institution in Europe in early modern times. Profiting from the breakdown of medieval feudal institutions in the fifteenth century, it was both quickened and solidified in the sixteenth century by nationalist developments, by the vogue of such political theories as those advanced by Machiavelli, and by the immediate outcome of the economic, religious, and military upheavals in western Christendom. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was generally thought natural and desirable that each country should be ruled by a monarch possessing the right, presumably conferred upon him by God, to administer justice, command an army, wage war, make peace, levy taxes, regulate trade and industry, and determine the religion and the individual and social privileges of all his subjects.

**Prevalence  
of Absolute  
Monarchy in  
the Seventeenth  
Century**

Such was the meaning of absolute monarchy in France under the Bourbons, in Spain under both Habsburgs and Bourbons, in Austria and its enlarging dependencies, in the Scandinavian realms of Sweden and Denmark, in the petty principalities of Germany and Italy. It was for the firm establishment of absolute monarchy in Prussia that the Great Elector and his Hohenzollern successors labored. It was in conscious imitation of the prevalent political practice of western Europe that Peter the Great imposed absolute monarchy on Russia.

There were some protests and movements against the new political order, but in the main they were unsuccessful. One of the earliest and most famous was the rebellion of the Netherlanders in the sixteenth century against their monarch, Philip II of Spain. Even here, however, the southern Netherlanders returned fairly soon to their traditional allegiance, and



during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they submitted without serious dissent to the absolutist sovereigns, first of Spain and then of Austria. The northern Netherlanders—the Dutchmen—did obtain national independence, it is true, and during the seventeenth century they afforded to Europe the spectacle of a “republic” in which supreme political power was exercised by a parliament—the states general—and under which there was a greater degree of personal liberty and material well-being than could be found in any neighboring absolute monarchy. Nevertheless, there was chronic friction in Holland between supporters of the aristocratic parliament and advocates of a more centralized and absolutist régime under the stadholder-prince of the Orange family. The latter gradually gained ground, as the parliamentary system proved ineffectual against the aggression of foreign monarchs and the loss of overseas colonies and commerce.<sup>1</sup> By the latter part of the eighteenth century it seemed almost certain that the Dutch republic would finally be replaced by an absolute monarchy modelled after that of Prussia.

**Temporary Repudiation of Absolute Monarchy in the Dutch Netherlands**

Early in the seventeenth century the Czechs of Bohemia undertook to depose their monarch, Ferdinand II, to reassert the authority of their parliament, and to choose their own king. The Czech rebellion, as we have seen, was promptly suppressed;<sup>2</sup> it only served to precipitate the Thirty Years' War, which in turn contributed to the strengthening of absolute monarchy in all the states of the Holy Roman Empire.

**Attempted Repudiation of Absolute Monarchy in Bohemia**

In Poland, there was steady progress during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries away from the theory of absolute

<sup>1</sup> The parliamentary government of the Dutch republic reached its highest development under John DeWitt, who served as “grand pensioner of the states of Holland” from 1653 to 1672. The French invasion in 1672 led to the killing of DeWitt by his infuriated compatriots and a great access of power to the stadholder, William III, great-grandson of William the Silent. See above, p. 300. After the death of William III in 1702 there was a revival of parliamentary influence, but in 1747, in the midst of new international complications, a cousin of William III was made “hereditary stadholder, captain and admiral-general” as William IV. Thereafter, in fact if not in name, Holland was a monarchy.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 264–265. Immediately following the Thirty Years' War, an attempt was made in France to limit monarchy, but the so-called Fronde was repressed by Cardinal Mazarin. On the Fronde, see above, pp. 288–290.

monarchy and toward the establishment of a political régime in which the king was an elected figure-head and the parliament a jealous custodian of the liberties of nobility, church, and towns. But, as we have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> Poland presented too extreme an exception to the contemporary political tenets of Europe and she was too closely bordered by countries of exactly opposite tendencies. The outcome was the three partitions of Poland in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Polish republic ceased to be and the Polish people were distributed among the absolute monarchs of Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

**Repudia-  
tion of  
Absolute  
Monarchy  
in Poland,  
and Its  
Fatal Con-  
sequences**

Thus it transpired that by the eighteenth century there remained no trace of reaction against royal absolutism in Bohemia, and what there had been in Poland and in the northern Netherlands was forcefully terminated or bade fair to disappear. In one country of Europe—in only one—was there evidence of successful and seemingly permanent reaction against the theory and practice of monarchical absolutism. This country was Great Britain. Britain, without being fully aware of it at the time, was to inaugurate, by political revolution, the whole series of revolutions that constitute the motive force of much of our present dynamic civilization.

**Unique  
Character  
of British  
Political  
Develop-  
ment**

At the beginning of modern times, Britain gave no sign of ability or willingness to play a unique political rôle in Europe or in the world. In Scotland there were unruly nobles and in England there was a nominal parliament. But neither kingdom was unique in these respects, and both possessed monarchs who vied with monarchs on the Continent in ambitious absolutist designs. Indeed, in England absolute monarchy developed earlier than in France. In the sixteenth century—the very century in which the French sovereigns had to deal with grave civil wars and with serious checks upon their authority—the Tudor rulers of England were rapidly freeing themselves from dependence upon parliament and were commanding the united support of the English nation. From the accession of Henry VII in 1485 to the death of his granddaughter Elizabeth in 1603, the strong hand of the English monarch was laid successively

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 376-377.

upon the commerce, industry, justice, religion, and finance of the country.<sup>1</sup> These Tudor sovereigns subdued sedition, fostered prosperity, repelled the armada. They faithfully personified national patriotism, and the English nation, particularly its growing middle class, extolled them.

Yet, despite this monarchical tradition of more than a century's duration, England was destined in the seventeenth century to witness a long bitter struggle between royal and parliamentary factions, the beheading of one king and the exiling of another, and in the end the irrevocable rejection of the theory and practice of absolute monarchy. This was to happen at the very time when Louis XIV was holding majestic court at Versailles and all the lesser princes on the Continent were zealously patterning their proud words and boastful deeds after the model of the Grand Monarch. In that day a mere parliament was to become dominant in England.

The death of Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, and the accession (1603) of her cousin James, the first of the Stuarts, marked the real beginning of the struggle. When he was but a year old, this James had acquired through the deposition of his unfortunate mother, Mary Stuart, the crown of Scotland (1567), and had been proclaimed James VI in that disorderly and distracted country.<sup>2</sup> The boy who was whipped by his tutor and kidnapped by his barons and browbeaten by Presbyterian divines learned to rule Scotland with a rod of iron and incidentally acquired such astonishing erudition, especially in theology, that the clever King Henry IV of France called him "the wisest fool in Christendom." At the age of thirty-seven, this Scot succeeded to the throne of England as James I.

James was not content, like his Tudor predecessors, merely to be an absolute ruler in practice; he insisted also upon the complete theory of monarchical absolutism. Such a theory had been carefully worked out by the pedantic Stuart king eighty years before Bishop Bossuet wrote his classic treatise on divine-right monarchy for the guidance of the young son of Louis XIV.<sup>3</sup> To James it seemed quite clear that God had divinely ordained kings to rule, for had not Saul been anointed by Jehovah's

**James I  
and the  
Assertion  
of Royal  
Absolut-  
ism in  
Britain**

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 28-30, 170-176, 251-254.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> See above. pp. 167-169, 252.

prophet, had not Peter and Paul urged Christians to obey their masters, and had not Christ Himself said, "Render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's"? As the father corrects his children, so should the king correct his subjects. As the head directs the hands and feet, so must the king direct the members of the body politic. Royal power is thus the most natural and the most effective instrument for suppressing anarchy and rebellion. James I summarized his idea of government in the famous Latin epigram, "a deo rex, a rege lex,"—"the king is from God, and law from the king."

It has been remarked already <sup>1</sup> that in one important respect the past governmental evolution of England differed from that of France. While both countries in the sixteenth century followed absolutist tendencies, in France the medieval tradition of constitutional limitations upon the power of the king was weaker than in England.

The tradition of English restrictions upon royal power centred in the old document of *Magna Carta* and in a medieval institution called parliament. *Magna Carta* dated back, almost four centuries before King James, to the year 1215 when King John had been compelled by his rebellious barons to sign a long list of promises. This list was the "long charter" or *Magna Carta*,<sup>2</sup> and it was important in three respects. (1) It served as a constant reminder that "the people" of England had once risen in arms to defend their "rights" against a despotic king, although as a matter of fact *Magna Carta* was more concerned with the rights of the feudal nobles (the barons) and of the clergy than with the rights of the common people. (2) Its most important provisions, by which the king could not levy extraordinary taxes on the nobles without the consent of the Great Council, furnished something of a basis for the idea of self-taxation. (3) Clauses such as "To no man will we sell, or deny, or delay, right or justice," although never strictly enforced, might be utilized as precedents for the restriction of royal power in the administration of justice.

The English Tradition of *Magna Carta*

The English parliament was a more or less representative assembly of clergy, nobility, and commoners, claiming to have powers of taxation and legislation. There had been an advisory

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 31, 280-281.

<sup>2</sup> *Magna Carta* was many times reissued after 1215.

body of prelates and lords even before the Norman conquest (1066). After the conquest a somewhat similar assembly of the

The English Parliament

king's chief feudal vassals—lay and ecclesiastical—had been called the Great Council, and its right to resist unjust taxation had been recognized by *Magna Carta*.

In 1254 the king had summoned to the Great Council, or parliament, not only the bishops, abbots, earls, and barons, but also two knights from every shire. Then, in an irregular parliament, convened in 1265 by Simon de Montfort, a great baronial leader against the king, two burgesses from each of twenty-one towns for the first time had sat with the others and helped to decide how their liberties were to be safeguarded. Similar bodies had met repeatedly in the next thirty years, and in 1295 Edward I had called a "model parliament" of archbishops, bishops, abbots, representative clergy, earls, and barons, two knights from every shire, and two citizens from each privileged city or borough,—more than four hundred in all.

For some time after 1295 the clergy, nobility, and commoners<sup>1</sup> may have deliberated separately much as did the three "estates" in France. At any rate, early in the fourteenth century the lesser clergy dropped out, the greater prelates and nobles were fused into one body—the House of "Lords spiritual and temporal,"—and the knights joined the burgesses to form the House of Commons. Parliament was henceforth a bicameral body, consisting of a House of Commons and a House of Lords.

The primary function of parliament was to give information to the king and to hear and grant his requests for new "subsidies" or direct taxes. The right to refuse grants was gradually assumed and legally recognized. As the taxes on the middle class soon exceeded those on the clergy and nobility, it became customary in the fifteenth century for money bills to be introduced in the Commons, approved by the Lords, and signed by the king.

The right to make laws had always been a royal prerogative, in theory at least. Parliament, however, soon utilized its financial control in order to obtain initiative in legislation. A threat of withholding subsidies had been an effective way of forcing Henry III to confirm *Magna Carta* in 1225; it proved no less effective in securing royal enactment of later "petitions" for laws. In the fifteenth century legislation by "petition" was supplanted

<sup>1</sup> I.e., the knights of the shires and the burgesses from the towns.

by legislation by "bill," that is, by introducing in either house of parliament measures which, in form and language, were complete statutes and which became such by the united assent of Commons, Lords, and king. To this day English laws have continued to be made formally "by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same."

The right to demand an account of expenditures, to cause the removal of royal officers, to request the king to abandon unpopular policies, or otherwise to control administrative affairs, had occasionally been asserted by parliament, but not consistently maintained.

From what has been said, it will now be clear that the fulcrum of parliamentary power was control of finance. What had enabled the Tudors to incline toward absolutism was the fact that for more than a hundred years they had made themselves fairly independent of parliament in matters of finance. This they had done by means of economy, by careful collection of taxes, by irregular expedients, by confiscation of religious property, and by tampering with the currency. Parliament still met, but it met irregularly, and during Elizabeth's reign it was in session on the average only three or four weeks of the year. Parliament still transacted business, but rarely differed with the monarch on matters of importance.

At the end of the Tudor period, then, we have a medieval tradition of constitutional, parliamentary government on the one hand, and a strong, practical, royal power on the other. The conflict between parliament and king, which had been avoided by the tactful Tudors, soon began in earnest when James I ascended the throne in 1603, with his exaggerated notion of his own authority.

**The Conflict between King and Parliament**

James I was an extravagant monarch, and needed parliamentary subsidies, yet his own principles prevented him from humoring parliament in any dream of power. The inevitable result was a conflict for political supremacy between parliament and king. When parliament refused him money, James resorted to the imposition of customs duties, grants of monopolies, sale of peerages, and the solicitation of "benevolences" (forced loans). Parliament promptly protested against such practices, as well as

against his foreign and religious policies and against his absolute control of the appointment and operation of the judiciary. Parliament's protests only increased the wrath of the king. The noisiest parliamentarians were imprisoned or sent home with royal scoldings. In 1621 the Commons entered in their journal a "great protestation" against the king's interference with their right to discuss the affairs of the realm. This so angered the king that he tore the protestation out of the journal and presently dissolved the intractable parliament. But the quarrel continued, and James's last parliament had the audacity to impeach his lord treasurer.

The political dispute was complicated and embittered by a religious conflict. James, educated as a devout Anglican, was naturally inclined to uphold the compromise by which the Tudors had retained the episcopal organization and many of the ceremonies of the Catholic Church and yet had repudiated the papacy and subordinated the bishops to the crown. This compromise did not suit all Englishmen, however. At one extreme was a dwindling number of Catholics. At the other, was a growing number of Protestants who inclined toward the teachings of Calvin or of even more radical leaders.<sup>1</sup>

Already, during the reign of Elizabeth, these Radical English Protestants comprised an influential part of the middle class—the townsmen especially—and many of the lower clergy. They were characterized (1) by a virulent hatred for even the most trivial forms reminiscent of "popery," as they termed the Catholic religion; and (2) by a tendency to place emphasis upon the spirit of the Old Testament quite as much as upon the precepts of the New. Along with austerity of manner, speech, dress, and fast-day observance, they revived much of the mercilessness with which the Israelites had conquered Canaan. The same men who held it a deadly sin to dance round a may-pole or to hang out holly on Christmas were later to experience a fierce and exalted pleasure in conquering New England from the heathen Indians. They knew neither self-indulgence nor tolerance for others. Little wonder that Elizabeth feared men of such mold and used the episcopal administration of the Anglican Church to restrain them. Many of these so-called Puritans remained members of

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 168, 176, 180.

The Conflict Complicated by Rise of Radical Protestantism

the Anglican Church and sought to reform it from within. But restraint only incited the more radical to condemn altogether the fabric of bishops and archbishops. Some strove to transform the Anglican Church into a Presbyterian Church similar to that in Scotland. Others went still farther and attempted to create independent religious congregations, quite separate from the Anglican Church; whence they were called Congregationalists, or Independents, or Separatists.

The  
Puritans

These religious radicals, often grouped together as "Puritans," were continually working against Elizabeth's strict enforcement of Anglican orthodoxy. The accession of James was seized by them as an occasion for the presentation of a great petition for a modification of church government and ritual. The petition bore no fruit, however, and in a religious debate at Hampton Court in 1604 James made a brusque declaration that bishops like kings were set over the multitude by the hand of God, and, as for these Puritans who would do away with bishops, he would make them conform or "harry them out of the land." From this time forth he insisted on conformity, and deprived many clergymen of their offices for refusing to subscribe to the regulations framed in 1604.

The hard rule of this monarch who claimed to govern by the will of God was rendered even more abhorrent to the stern Puritan moralists by reports of "drunken orgies" and horrible vices which made his royal court appear to be a veritable den of Satan. But worst of all was his suspected leaning toward "popery." The Puritans had a passionate hatred for anything that even remotely suggested Roman Catholic Christianity. Consequently it was not with pleasure that they viewed a king whose mother had been a Catholic, whose wife was suspected of harboring a priest, a ruler who at times openly exerted himself to obtain greater toleration for Catholics and to maintain the Anglican ritual against Puritan modification. With growing alarm and resentment they learned that Catholic conspirators had plotted to blow up the houses of parliament, and that in his foreign policy James was decidedly friendly to Catholic princes.

The cardinal points of James's foreign policy,—union with Scotland, peace, and a Spanish alliance,—were all calculated to arouse antagonism. The English, having for centuries nourished



enmity toward their northern neighbors and perceiving no apparent advantage in close union, defeated the project of amalgamating the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. James's policy of non-intervention in the Bohemian revolt against Austria evoked bitter criticism; he was accused of favoring the Catholics and of deserting his son-in-law, the Protestant elector of the Palatinate.<sup>1</sup> The most hotly contested point was, however, the Spanish policy. Time and time again, parliament protested, but James pursued his plans, making peace with Spain, and negotiating for a marriage between his son Charles and a Spanish princess. Prince Charles actually went to Spain to court the daughter of Philip III.<sup>2</sup>

The strength of the Puritans resided in the commercial middle class. It was this class which had profited by the war with Spain in the days of "good Queen Bess" when many a Spanish prize, laden with silver and dye woods, had been towed into Plymouth harbor. Their dreams of erecting an English colonial and commercial empire on the ruins of Spain's appeared to be doomed by James. By his Spanish policy, as well as by his irregular methods of taxation, James thus touched the Puritans in their pocket-books. The Puritans were grieved to see so sinful a man sit on the throne of England, and so wasteful a man squander their money. They were even hindered in the exercise of their religious convictions. Every fibre in them rebelled.

Now it so happened that the majority of members of the House of Commons—the burgesses from the towns and some of the country squires—were of Puritan conviction or sympathy. Naturally, therefore, the mass of Puritans throughout the country supported the claims and pretensions of parliament, and the parliamentary struggle against the king became, then, not only a defense of abstract political ideals but also a bitter battle in defense of class interests and in furtherance of Puritanism. Parliamentary traditions were weapons against an oppressive monarch; religious scruples gave divine sanction to an attack on royalist bishops; consciousness of being God's elect gave confidence to the revolutionaries. Everything was in readiness for a bitter political and religious struggle in England when James I died and was succeeded by his son, Charles I (1625-1649).

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 260, 388.

For a time it appeared as if the second Stuart king would be very popular. Unlike his father, Charles seemed thoroughly English; and his athletic frame, his dignified manners, and his purity of life contrasted most favorably with James's deformities in character and physique. Two years before his father's death Charles had been jilted by his Spanish fiancée and had returned to England amid wild rejoicing to aid parliament in demanding war with Spain. He had again rejoiced the bulk of the English nation by solemnly assuring parliament on the occasion of his marriage contract with Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII of France (and aunt of Louis XIV), that he would grant no concessions to Catholics in England.

As a matter of fact, Charles simultaneously but secretly assured the French government not only that he would allow the queen the free exercise of her religion but that he would make general concessions to English Catholics. This duplicity on the part of the young king, which augured ill for the harmony of future relations between himself and parliament, throws a flood of light upon his character and policies. Though Charles was sincerely religious and well-intentioned, he was as devoted to the theory of absolute monarchy as his father had been; and as to the means which he might employ in order to establish absolutism upon a firm foundation he honestly believed himself responsible only to God and to his own conscience, certainly not to parliament. This fact, together with a certain inherent aptitude for shirking the settlement of difficulties, explains in large part the faults which historians have usually ascribed to him—his meanness and ingratitude toward his most devoted followers, his chronic obstinacy which only feigned compliance, and his incurable untruthfulness.

Just before Charles came to the throne, parliament granted subsidies in expectation of war against Spain, but when the king had used up the war-money without showing any serious inclination to open hostilities with Spain, and had then demanded additional grants, parliament gave evidence of its growing distrust by limiting a levy of customs duties to one year, instead of granting it as usual for the whole reign. In view of the increasingly obstinate temper manifested by the House of Commons in withholding subsidies and in assailing his worthless favorite, the duke

Contin-  
uing  
Conflict  
between  
King and  
Parlia-  
ment

of Buckingham, Charles angrily dissolved his first parliament.

The difficulties of the administration were augmented not only by this arbitrary treatment of parliament but also by the miserable failure of an English fleet sent against Cadiz, and by the humiliating result of an attempt to relieve the French Huguenots.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, a second parliament, more intractable even than its predecessor, had been dissolved for insisting on the impeachment of Buckingham. Attempts to raise money by forced loans in place of taxes failed to remove the financial distress into which Charles had fallen, and consequently, in 1628, he consented to summon a third parliament. In return for grants of subsidies, he signed the *Petition of Right* (1628), prepared by the two houses. By it he promised not to levy taxes without the consent of parliament, not to quarter soldiers in private houses, not to establish martial law in time of peace, not to order arbitrary imprisonment.

Even these concessions were not enough. Parliament again demanded the removal of Buckingham, and only the assassination of the unpopular minister obviated prolonged dispute on the matter. The Commons next attempted to check the unauthorized collection of customs duties, which produced as much as one fourth of the total royal revenue, and to prevent the introduction of "popish" ceremonies in the Anglican Church, but for this trouble they were sent home.

Charles was now so thoroughly disgusted with parliament that he determined to rule without it. For eleven years (1629-1640), in spite of financial and religious difficulties, he carried on a "personal" as distinct from a parliamentary government.

Without the consent of parliament, Charles was bound not to levy direct taxes. During the period of his personal rule, therefore, he was compelled to adopt all sorts of expedients to replenish his treasury. He revived old feudal laws and collected fines for their infraction. A sum of one hundred thousand pounds was gained by fines on suburban householders who had dis-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 283.

obeyed a proclamation of James I forbidding the extension of London. The royal courts levied enormous fines merely for the sake of revenue. Monopolies of wine, salt, soap, and other articles were sold to companies for large sums of money; but the high prices charged by the companies caused much popular discontent.

The most obnoxious of all devices for obtaining funds was the levy of "ship-money." Claiming that it had always been the duty of seaboard towns to equip ships for the defense of the country, Charles demanded that since they no longer built ships, these towns should contribute money for the maintenance of the navy. In 1634, therefore, each seaboard town was ordered to pay a specified amount of "ship-money" into the royal treasury, and the next year the tax was extended to inland towns and counties.<sup>1</sup> To test the legality of this exaction, a certain John Hampden refused to pay his twenty shillings' ship-money, and took the matter to court, claiming that the tax was illegal. The majority of the judges, who held office during the king's pleasure and were therefore strictly under royal influence, upheld the legality of ship-money and even went so far as to assert that in times of emergency the king's prerogative was unlimited, but the Puritan part of the country rang with protests and Hampden was hailed as a hero.

Opposition to financial exactions continued to go hand in hand with bitter religious disputes. Charles had entrusted the conduct of religious affairs to William Laud, a high-church Anglican, whom he named archbishop of Canterbury. The laws against Catholics were relaxed, and the restrictions on Puritans increased. It seemed as if Charles and his bishops were bent upon goading the Puritans to fury, at the very time when one by one the practices, the vestments, and even the dogmas of the Catholic Church were being reintroduced into the Anglican Church, when the tyrannical King James was declared to have been divinely inspired, and when Puritan clergymen were forced to read from their pulpits a royal declaration permitting the "sin-

<sup>1</sup> The first writ of ship-money yielded £100,000.

ful" practices of dancing on the green or shooting at the butts (targets) on the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> So hard was the lot of the Radical Protestants in England that thousands fled the country and established themselves in America.<sup>2</sup>

In his Scottish policy Charles overreached himself. With the zealous coöperation of Archbishop Laud, he imprudently attempted to transform the Calvinistic Presbyterian Church of Scotland into an Episcopal Church, patterned after the Anglican Church in organization and ritual. Thereupon the angry Scottish Presbyterians signed a great covenant, swearing to defend their religion (1638); they deposed the bishops set over them by the king and rose in revolt. Failing in a first effort to crush the rebellion in Scotland, the king summoned another English parliament in order to secure financial support for an adequate royal army. This parliament—the so-called Short Parliament—was dissolved, however, after some three weeks of bootless wrangling. Still unable to check the advance of the rebellious Scots into northern England, Charles in desperation convoked (1640) a new parliament, which, by reason of its extended duration (1640-1660), has been commonly called the Long Parliament. In England and Scotland absolute monarchy faced a crisis—and revolution.

## 2. THE PURITAN REVOLUTION AND THE RESTORATION

Confident that Charles could neither fight nor buy off the Scots without parliamentary subsidies, the Long Parliament showed a decidedly stubborn spirit. Its leader, John Pym, a country gentleman already famous for his speeches against despotism, openly maintained that in the House of Commons resided supreme authority to disregard ill-advised acts of the upper house or of the king. Hardly less radical were the views of John Hampden and of Oliver Cromwell, the future dictator of England.

<sup>1</sup> It is an interesting if not a significant fact that the Puritans with their austere views about observance of the Sabbath not only decreased the number of holidays for workingmen, but interfered with innocent recreation on the remaining day of rest. One aspect of the resulting monotonous life of the laborer was, according to Cunningham, the remarkable increase of drunkenness in England at this period.

<sup>2</sup> In the decade 1630-1640 some 20,000 Englishmen sailed for the colonies. Most if not all of them had economic as well as religious reasons for emigrating. See above, pp. 389-390, 396.

The right of the Commons to impeach ministers of state, asserted under James I, was now used to send to the Tower both Archbishop Laud and Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, who, since 1629, had been the king's most valued and enthusiastically loyal minister.<sup>1</sup> The special tribunals—the Court of High Commission, the Court of Star Chamber, and others,—which had served to convict important ecclesiastical and political offenders, were abolished. No more irregular financial expedients, such as the imposition of ship-money, were to be employed, without the sanction of parliament. As if this were not enough to curb the king, the royal prerogative of dissolving parliament was abrogated, and by a “triennial act” it was provided that parliament must meet at least every three years.

All the contested points of government had been decided adversely to the king. But his position was now somewhat stronger. He had been able to raise money, the Scottish invaders had turned back, and the House of Commons had shown itself to be badly divided on the question of church reform and in its debates on the publication of a “grand remonstrance”—a document exposing the grievances of the nation and apologizing for the acts of parliament. Moreover, a rebellion had broken out in Ireland and Charles expected to be put at the head of an army for its suppression. With this much in his favor, the king in person entered the House of Commons and attempted to arrest five of its leaders. He was met with angry protests, however, and his action precipitated open hostility between him and his House of Commons. The latter now proceeded to pass ordinances without the royal seal, and to issue a call to arms. The levy of troops contrary to the king's will was a revolutionary act. Whereupon, Charles raised the royal standard at Nottingham and called his loyal subjects to suppress threatened rebellion. The issue was squarely joined between absolute monarchy and the revolutionary forces of parliament and puritanism.

**The Outbreak of Civil War in England**

To the king's standard rallied most of the nobles, the high-church Anglicans, the Catholics, many country “squires,” and all

<sup>1</sup> Strafford was accused of treason, but his execution in 1641 was in pursuance of a special “bill of attainder” enacted by parliament. Laud was put to death in 1645.

those who disliked the austere morals and pious manners of the Puritans. In opposition to him were a few great earls and a large part of the Puritan middle classes—small landholders, merchants, manufacturers, shop-keepers, especially in London and other busy towns throughout the south and east of England. The close-cropped heads of these “God-fearing” commoners won them the nickname “Round-heads,” while the royalist upper classes, not thinking it a sinful vanity to wear their hair in long curls, were called “Cavaliers.”

In the Long Parliament there was a predominance of Presbyterians—that group of Puritans midway between the reforming Episcopalians and the radical Independents. Accordingly a “solemn league and covenant” was formed (1643) with the Scottish Presbyterians for the establishment of religious uniformity on a Presbyterian basis in England and Ireland as well as in Scotland. Then the parliamentary army moved against King Charles and defeated him at Marston Moor (1644). At once the Presbyterian majority in Parliament abolished the office of bishop, decreed the removal of altars and communion rails from the churches, and tolerated the smashing of crucifixes, images, and stained-glass windows. Satisfied with their work, the Presbyterians seemed willing to make peace with the king and to restore him to his office, provided he would give permanence to their religious settlement.

The Puritan army, however, was growing restive. Oliver Cromwell, an Independent, had organized a cavalry regiment of “honest sober Christians” who were fined 12 pence if they swore, who charged in battle while “singing psalms,” and who went about the business of killing their enemies in a pious and prayerful manner—but highly effective withal. Indeed, so successful were Cromwell’s “Ironsides” that a considerable part of the parliamentary army was reorganized on his plan. The “New Model” army, as it was termed, was Independent in sympathy; it was almost as hostile to Presbyterianism as to high-church Anglicanism, and it would agree to no compromise between parliament and the king.

The “New Model” army, under the command of Fairfax and Cromwell, persevered in revolution and in vigorous campaigning against the royalists. It defeated Charles I decisively at Naseby

(1645) and obliged him to surrender in the following year. Then, after some hesitation, the leaders of the New Model army turned against the irresolute Presbyterian majority in parliament. A certain Colonel Pride was stationed with his soldiers at the door of the House of Commons and ordered to "purge" the House of its 143 Presbyterian members. This he did (1648) in soldierly fashion, leaving the Independent minority—some sixty members—to deliberate alone upon the nation's weal. This "rump," or sitting part of parliament, acting on its own authority, appointed a "high court of justice" by whose sentence Charles I was beheaded, 30 January, 1649. It then decreed England to be a Commonwealth with neither king nor House of Lords.<sup>1</sup>

Execution  
of  
Charles I

The executive functions, hitherto exercised by the king, were vested in a Council of State, of whose forty-one members thirty were members of the House. The Rump Parliament, instead of calling for new elections, as had been expected, continued to sit as the "representatives of the people," although they represented the sentiments of only a small fraction of the people. England was in the hands of a Radical Puritan oligarchy.

The Com-  
mon-  
wealth

Menacing conditions confronted the revolutionary Commonwealth. In England, unrest and mutiny showed that the execution of Charles I had infused new life into the royalists. In Scotland, outraged Presbyterians joined with Anglicans in flocking to the support of Charles's son, whom they proclaimed as Charles II. In Ireland, the Catholic majority were in open and seemingly successful rebellion. Under these circumstances, the Commonwealth would have perished but for three sources of strength. (1) Its financial resources proved adequate; customs duties were collected, excise taxes on drinks and food were levied, and confiscated royalist estates were sold. (2) Its enemies had no disciplined armies. (3) Its own army was remarkably powerful.

Cromwell, with his fanatical soldiers, promptly crossed to Ireland and won a series of bloody engagements. After wreaking dire

<sup>1</sup> Baron Fairfax (1612-1671), a Puritan nobleman and competent soldier, was commander-in-chief of the parliamentary army until the capture of Charles I. He was opposed to the execution of the king and in 1650 was succeeded in supreme command by Cromwell.



vengeance on the defeated Irish and shipping many prisoners as slaves to Barbados, he was able to return to London in 1650, declaring, "I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches [the Irish] who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future." The next move of Cromwell, as parliamentary commander-in-chief, was against the Scots. He annihilated their scattered forces, and compelled Prince Charles to take refuge in France.

Meanwhile the members of the Rump, still the nominal rulers of England, finding opportunity for personal profit in the sale of royalist lands and in the administration of finance, had exasperated Cromwell by their maladministration and their neglect of the public welfare. The life of the Rump was temporarily prolonged, however, by the popularity of its legislation against the Dutch, at this time the chief rivals of England on the seas and in the colonies.<sup>1</sup> In 1651 the Rump passed the first Navigation Act, forbidding the importation of goods from Asia, Africa, or America, except in English or colonial ships, and providing that commodities of European production should be imported only in vessels of England or of the producing country. The framers of the Navigation Act intended thereby to exclude Dutch vessels from trading between England and other lands. The next year a commercial and naval war broke out between England and Holland, leading to no decisive result, but, on the whole, increasing the prestige of the English navy.<sup>2</sup> With renewed confidence the Rump contemplated perpetuating its narrow oligarchy, but Cromwell's patience was exhausted, and in 1653 he turned it out of doors, declaring, "Your hour is come, the Lord hath done with you!" Cromwell remained as military and religious dictator of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

**The Military Dictatorship of Oliver Cromwell** Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) is the most interesting political figure in seventeenth-century England. Belonging by birth to the class of country gentlemen, his first appearance in public life was in the parliament of 1628 as a pleader for the liberty of Puritan preaching. When the Long Parliament met in 1640, Cromwell, then forty-one years of age, assumed a conspicuous

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 303-394.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 394.

place. His clothes were cheap and homely, "his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable," nevertheless his fervid eloquence and energy soon made him "very much hearkened unto." From the Civil War, as we know, Cromwell emerged as the chief military leader, the idol of his soldiers, fearing God but not man. His frequent use of Biblical phrases in ordinary conversation and his manifest confidence that he was performing God's work flowed from an intense religious zeal. He belonged, properly speaking, to the Independents, who believed that each local congregation of Christians should be practically free, excepting that "prelacy" (*i.e.*, the episcopal form of church government) and "popery" (*i.e.*, Catholic Christianity) were not to be tolerated. In private life Cromwell was fond of "honest sport," of music and art. It is said that his gayety when he had "drunken a cup of wine too much" and his taste in statuary shocked his more austere fellow Puritans. In public life he was a man of great forcefulness, occasionally giving way to violent temper. He was a statesman of signal ability, aiming to secure good government and economic prosperity for England and religious freedom for Protestant dissenters.

After arbitrarily dissolving the Rump of the Long Parliament (1653), Cromwell and his Council of State broke with tradition entirely by selecting 140 men on the recommendation of Independent ministers, to constitute a legislative body or convention. This body speedily received the popular appellation of "Barebone's Parliament" after one of its members, a certain leather merchant, who bore the descriptive Puritan name of Praisegod Barebone. The new legislators were good Independents—"faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness." Their zeal for reform found expression in the reduction of public expenditure, in the equalization of taxes, and in plans for the compilation of a single code of laws; but their radical proposals for civil marriage and for the abolition of tithes startled the clergy and elicited from the larger landowners the cry of "confiscation!" Before much was accomplished, however, "Barebone's Parliament" was induced to "deliver up unto the Lord-General Cromwell the powers we received from him."

Upon the failure of this experiment, Cromwell's supporters in the army prepared an "Instrument of Government," or consti-

tution. By the Instrument of Government—the first written constitution of modern times—a “Protectorate” was established, which was a constitutional monarchy in all but name. Oliver Cromwell, who became “Lord Protector” for life, was to govern with the aid of a small Council of State. Parliaments, meeting at least every three years, were to make laws and levy taxes, the Protector possessing the right to delay, but not to veto, legislation. Puritan Congregationalism was made the state religion.

The first parliament under the Protectorate was important for three reasons. (1) It consisted of only one House. (2) It was the parliament of Great Britain and Ireland rather than of England alone. (3) Its members were elected on a reformed basis of representation,—that is, the right of representation had been taken from many small places and transferred to more important towns.

Although royalists were excluded from the polls, the Independents were unable to control a majority in the general election, for, it must be remembered, they formed a very small, though a powerful, minority of the population. The Presbyterians controlled the new parliament, and with characteristic stubbornness, they quarrelled with Cromwell, until he abruptly dismissed them (1655). Whereupon Cromwell governed simply as a military dictator, placing England under the rule of his generals, and giving orders to his parliaments. To raise money he obliged all those who had borne arms for the king to pay him ten per cent of their rentals. While permitting his office to be made hereditary, he refused to accept the title of king, but no Stuart monarch had ruled with such absolute power, nor was there much to choose between James's “*a deo rex, a rege lex*” and Cromwell's, “If my calling be from God and my testimony from the people, God and the people shall take it from me, else I will not part from it.”

The question is often raised, how Cromwell, representing the numerically insignificant Independents, contrived to maintain himself as absolute ruler of the British Isles. Three circumstances doubtless contributed to his strength. (1) He was the beloved leader of an army respected for its rigid discipline and feared for its mercilessness. (2) Under his strict enforcement of order,

trade and industry throve. (3) His conduct of foreign affairs was both satisfactory to English patriotism and profitable to English purses. Advantageous commercial treaties were made with the Dutch and the French. Industrious Jews were allowed to enter England. Barbary pirates were chastised. In a war against Spain, the army won Dunkirk;<sup>1</sup> and the navy, now becoming truly powerful, sank a Spanish fleet, wrested Jamaica from Spain, and brought home ship-loads of Spanish silver.

The death of Cromwell (1658) left the army without a master and the country without a government. True, Oliver's son, Richard Cromwell, attempted for a time to fill his father's place, but soon abdicated after having lost control of both army and parliament. Army officers restored the Rump of the Long Parliament, dissolved it, set it up again, forced it to recall the Presbyterian members who had been expelled in 1648, and ended by obliging the reconstituted Long Parliament to convoke a new and freely elected "Convention Parliament." Meanwhile, General Monck opened negotiations for the restoration of the Stuart family to the kingship.

Death of  
Cromwell  
and Col-  
lapse of  
the Pro-  
tectorate

In 1660, King Charles II—the son and heir of the beheaded Charles I—disembarked at Dover. His entry into London was a veritable triumph, "the wayes strew'd with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapistry, fountaines running with wine."

The Royal  
Restora-  
tion

The exuberant enthusiasm which greeted Charles II was not entirely without causes, social and religious, as well as political. The grievances and ideals which had inspired the Puritan Revolution were being forgotten, and a new generation was finding fault with the Protectorate. The simple country folk longed for their maypoles, their dances, and their games on the green; only fear compelled them to bear the tyranny of sanctimonious soldiers who broke the windows of their churches. Especially hard was the lot of tenants and laborers on the many estates purchased or seized by Puritans during the Revolution. Many townsmen, too, excluded from the ruling oligarchy, found the Puritan government as oppressive and arbitrary as that of Charles I.

The religious situation was especially favorable to Charles II. The outrages committed by Cromwell's soldiery had caused the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 276.

Independents to be looked upon as terrible fanatics. Even the Presbyterians were willing to yield some points to the king, if only Independency could be overthrown; and many who had been inclined to Puritanism were now unwavering in loyalty to the Anglican Church. Orthodox Anglicanism, from its origin, had been bound up with the monarchy, and it now consistently contributed to a double triumph of kings and of bishops. Most bitter of all against the Cromwellian régime were the Catholics in Ireland. Though Cromwell as Lord Protector had favored toleration for Protestants, it would be long before Irish Catholics could forget the priests whom Cromwell's soldiery had brutally knocked on the head, or the thousands of girls and boys whom Cromwell's agents had sold into slavery in the West Indies.

This strong royalist undercurrent, flowing from religious and social conditions, makes more comprehensible the ease with which England drifted back into the Stuart monarchy. The younger generation, with no memory of Stuart despotism, and with a keen dislike for the confusion in which no constitutional form was proof against military tyranny, gave ready credence to Prince Charles's promises of constitutional government. There seemed to be little probability that the young monarch would attempt that arbitrary rule which had brought his father's head to the block.

The experiment in Puritan republicanism had resulted only in convincing the majority of the people that "the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons." The people merely asked for some assurances against despotism,—and when a throne was thus to be purchased with promises, Charles II was a ready buyer. He swore to observe *Magna Carta* and the "Petition of Right," to respect parliament, not to interfere with its religious policy, nor to levy illegal taxes. Simultaneously, the Anglican bishops and royalist nobles resumed their offices and lands. Things seemed to slip back into the old grooves. Charles II dated his reign not from his actual accession but from his father's death, and his first parliament declared invalid all those acts and ordinances passed since 1642 which it did not specifically confirm.

### 3. THE ARISTOCRATIC "GLORIOUS" REVOLUTION

By 1660 one attempt to revolutionize the political system of England had been tried and rejected. Though there had

been widespread opposition in England—and in Scotland too—to absolute monarchy as practiced by James I and Charles I, the ensuing Puritan Revolution had failed to elicit general or permanent approval. The Puritan Revolution had led to a tyrannical military dictatorship which was quite contrary to national traditions. It had been allied with a Radical Protestantism whose fanaticism and sanctimoniousness were repugnant alike to the Presbyterian masses in Scotland, to the Anglican masses in England, and to the Catholic masses in Ireland. It had promoted a process of social levelling—an exalting of the obscure lower middle class—which was peculiarly distasteful not only to the upper class but also to the bulk of the nation that had long been accustomed to defer to titled aristocrats and country squires. Little wonder that the Puritan régime was short-lived and that there was a Restoration.

But what did the Restoration of 1660 restore? It obviously restored the "legitimate" king to the British thrones—though only for a brief space of twenty-eight years. It also restored the monarchy, though not the same old monarchy of pre-Puritan days; talk of "divine right" was somewhat hushed, and parliament was not subservient to king. What, however, was restored in 1660 with all its old splendor of privilege and power was the British aristocracy. The true Restoration was the restoration of the royalist nobles and squires. For nearly two centuries these aristocrats were to possess the deciding voice in British policies. So long as Britain remained largely agricultural, they were able, thanks to their economic influence and social prestige, to constitute or control both houses of parliament and to shape its policies.

**Triumph  
of the  
Landed  
Aristoc-  
racy**

The restored aristocrats of 1660 were no more anxious than were the suppressed Puritans that Britain should be an absolute divine-right monarchy. They were royalists, but they were also constitutional royalists; they would honor the king but they would make him do their will. In religious matters most of them were upholders of the established church—Anglican in England, or Presbyterian in Scotland; they were inimical to Radical Protestantism and even more so to Catholicism.

Now it so happened that neither Charles II nor his younger brother and heir, Prince James (duke of York), was in real sympathy with the prevailing political and religious tenets of the

aristocratic class in Britain. Both Stuart princes, cousins on their mother's side of Louis XIV of France, in whose court they had been reared, were more used to the practices of monarchical absolutism in France than to the peculiar developments of parliamentary government in England. And unlike their father, who had been most loyal to the Anglican Church, they had acquired from their foreign environment a strong attachment to the Catholic Church. In these later Stuarts was thus represented a fusion of absolutism with Catholicism. It was a fusion which gave rise to chronic conflict for twenty-eight years between them and their parliaments, and the conflict finally eventuated in a second—and highly successful—attempt, this time jointly by upper and middle classes, Anglicans and nonconformist Protestants, to revolutionize the political system of Britain. A national revolution was to succeed the Puritan Revolution, and it was to be labelled "glorious." In the meantime, the Stuarts—Charles II and James II—had their innings.

That Charles II (1660–1685) was able to round out a reign of twenty-five years and die a natural death as king of England and Scotland was due not so much to his virtues as to his faults. He was so hypocritical that his real aims were usually concealed. He was so indolent that with some show of right he could blame his ministers and advisers for his own mistakes and misdeeds. He was so selfish that he would make concessions here and there rather than "embark again upon his travels." In fact, pure selfishness was the basis of his policy in domestic and foreign affairs, but it was a selfishness veiled always in wit, good humor, and captivating affability.

At the beginning of the reign of Charles II, the country gentlemen strengthened their position by securing the parliamentary abolition of the surviving feudal rights by which the king might demand certain specified services from them and certain sums of money when an heiress married or a minor inherited an estate. This action, seemingly insignificant, was in reality of the greatest importance, for it meant the abandonment in England of the feudal theory that land was held by nobles in return for military service, and at the same time it consecrated the newer capitalist principle of private property. The extinction of feudal obligations in the early days of the

**Absolutist  
and  
Catholic  
Ambitions  
of the  
Restored  
Stuarts**

**Charles II**

**Domestic  
Develop-  
ments**

Stuart Restoration benefited the landlords primarily, but the annual lump sum of £100,000 which Charles II was given in return, was voted by parliament and was paid by all classes in the form of excise taxes on alcoholic drinks. Customs duties of £4 10s. on every tun of wine and five per cent *ad valorem* on other imports, hearth-money (a tax on houses), and profits on the post office contributed to make up the royal revenue of somewhat less than £1,200,000. This was intended to defray the ordinary expenses of court and government but it seemed insufficient to Charles, who was not only extravagant, but desirous of increasing his power by bribing members of parliament and by maintaining a standing army. The country squires who had sold their plate for the royalist cause back in the 'forties and were now suffering from hard times, thought the court was too extravagant. To this feeling was added fear that Charles might hire foreign soldiers to oppress Englishmen. Consequently parliament grew more parsimonious, and in 1665-1667 claimed a new and important privilege—that of devoting its grants to specific objects and demanding an account of expenditures.

Charles, however, was determined to have money by fair means or foul. A group of London goldsmiths had lent more than a million and a quarter pounds sterling to the government. In 1672 Charles announced that instead of paying the money back, he would consider it a permanent loan. Two years earlier he had signed the secret treaty of Dover (1670) with Louis XIV, by which Louis promised him an annual subsidy of £200,000 and troops in case of rebellion, while Charles was openly to join the Catholic Church and to aid Louis in his French wars against Spain and Holland.<sup>1</sup>

In his religious policy, Charles at first had the support of his aristocratic parliament in curbing Radical Protestantism, for the vast majority of English nobles and squires reacted strongly against Puritanism. Some two thousand Puritan clergymen were deprived of their offices by an Act of Uniformity (1662), requiring their assent to the Anglican prayer-book; these dissenting clergymen might not return within five miles of their old churches unless they renounced the "solemn league and covenant" and swore loyalty to the king (Five-Mile

Religious  
Policy of  
Charles II

<sup>1</sup> Charles II gave aid to Louis XIV (see above, p. 300), but he did not formally join the Catholic Church until 1685 when he was on his death bed.



Act, 1665); for repeated attendance at their meetings (conventicles) dissenters might be condemned to penal servitude in the West Indies (Conventicle Act, 1664); and the Corporation Act of 1661 excluded dissenters from town offices.

Later, however, when Charles II showed that his hostility to Puritanism was conditioned less by love of Anglicanism than by sympathy for Catholicism, Anglicans and Radical Protestants tended to draw together against the royal policy. All Protestant

**Renewed Conflict between King and Parliament** Britain was scandalized in 1672 by the open conversion of Prince James to the Catholic Church and by the issuance of a "declaration of indulgence" by Charles II, suspending the laws of parliament which oppressed not only dissenters but also Catholics. At

the same time it was rumored about that Charles was in the pay of Louis XIV of France, who would aid him in the subversion of Protestantism. Britain was thrown into paroxysms of fear.

The "declaration of indulgence" was denounced as a pro-Catholic document and as a serious infraction of parliamentary authority. The royal right to "suspend" laws upon occasion had undoubtedly been exercised before, but parliament was now strong enough to insist upon the binding force of its enactments and to oblige Charles to withdraw his "indulgence." The fear of Catholicism ever increased. Gentlemen who at other times were quite rational gave unhesitating credence to wild tales of a "popish plot" (1678) and countenanced rabid persecution and judicial murder of several prominent Catholics. In 1679 an Exclusion Bill was brought forward which would debar Prince James from the throne, because of his conversion to Catholicism.

In the excitement over this latest assertion of parliamentary power,<sup>1</sup> the governing aristocracy broke into two factions. One

**Whigs and Tories** faction, favoring exclusion, was backed by the Puritans and dissenters and was labelled "Whig," a popular word of derision for rebellious Protestants. The

other faction, styled "Tory"—the slang word for a "popish" outlaw in Ireland—was more rigidly Anglican and at the same time more moderate in its attitude toward Prince James. The Tories were anxious to preserve the *status quo* in church and

<sup>1</sup> In the course of the debate over exclusion, the parliamentary party won an important concession—the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, which was designed to prevent arbitrary imprisonment.

state against Puritans as well as against "papists," but most of all to prevent a recurrence of civil war. In their opinion, the best and most effective safeguard against quarrelling earls and insolent tradesmen was the hereditary monarchy. Better submit to a Catholic sovereign, they said, than invite civil war by disturbing the regular succession. In the contest over the Exclusion Bill, the Tories finally carried the day, for although the bill was passed by the Commons (1680), it was rejected by the House of Lords.

In the last few years of Charles's reign the cause of the Whigs was discredited. Rumors got abroad that they were plotting to assassinate the king and it was said that the Whig nobles who brought armed retainers to parliament were planning to use force to establish Charles's illegitimate son—the Protestant duke of Monmouth—on the throne. These and similar accusations hurt the Whigs, and help to explain the violent Tory reaction which enabled Charles to rule without parliament from 1681 to his death in 1685. As had been feared, upon the death of Charles II, the duke of Monmouth organized a revolt, but this, together with a simultaneous insurrection in Scotland, was easily crushed, and the Catholic duke of York was duly seated on the throne as James II.

In his short reign of three years James II (1685-1688) succeeded in stirring up opposition on all sides. The Tories, the party most favorable to the royal prerogative, upon whom he might have relied, were shocked by his attempts to create a standing army and officer it with Catholics, for such an army might prove as disastrous to their liberties as Cromwell's "New Model"; while the Whigs were driven from sullenness to forceful opposition by James's religious policy and despotic government. James, like his brother, claimed the right to "suspend" the laws and statutes which parliament had enacted; he issued a "declaration of indulgence" in 1687, which exempted Catholics and dissenters from punishment for infractions of these laws. Furthermore, he appointed Catholics to office in the army and in the civil government. In spite of protests, he issued a second declaration of indulgence in 1688 and ordered it to be read in all Anglican churches, and, when seven bishops remonstrated, he accused them of seditious libel. No jury would convict the

**James II  
and His  
Fateful  
Union of  
Absolut-  
ism and  
Catholi-  
cism**

## HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

seven bishops, however, and they were acquitted. The Tories were estranged by what seemed to be a deliberate attack on the Anglican Church and by fear of a standing army. The arbitrary disregard of parliamentary legislation, and the favor shown to Catholics, goaded the Whigs to fury.

So long as Whigs and Tories alike could look forward to the accession on the death of James II of his Protestant daughters, Mary and Anne, they continued to acquiesce in his arbitrary government. But the outlook became gloomier when in 1688 a son was born to James II by his second wife, a Catholic. Many Protestants averred that the prince was not really James's son; and politicians prophesied that he would be educated in his father's "popish" and absolutist doctrines, and that thus England would continue to be ruled by "papist" despots. Even those who professed to believe in the divine right of kings and had denied the right of parliament to alter the succession were dejected at this prospect, and many of them were willing to join with the Whigs in inviting a Protestant to take the throne. The next in line of succession after the infant prince was Mary, the elder of James's two daughters, wife of William of Orange,<sup>1</sup> and an Anglican. Upon the invitation of Whig and Tory leaders, William crossed over from Holland to England with an army and entered London without opposition (1688). Deserted even by his army, James fled to France.<sup>2</sup>

**The Flight  
and Deposition  
of  
James II**

**The Parliamentary  
Settlement  
of 1689**

A bloodless revolution was thus accomplished and the crown was formally presented to William and Mary by an irregular parliament, which also declared that James II, having endeavored to subvert the constitution and having fled from the kingdom, had vacated the throne. In offering the crown to William and Mary, parliament was very careful to safeguard its own power and the Protestant religion by issuing a Declaration of Rights (1689), which, as the Bill of Rights, was speedily enacted into law. This act decreed that the sovereign must henceforth belong to the Anglican Church, thereby debarring the Catholic son of James II. The

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 303-304. William's mother was a sister of Charles II and James II.

<sup>2</sup> Risings in favor of James in Ireland and in Scotland were suppressed. In Ireland the famous battle of the Boyne (1690) was decisive.

act also denied the power of a king to "suspend" laws or to "dispense" subjects from obeying the laws, to levy money, or to maintain an army without consent of parliament; it asserted that neither the free election nor the free speech and proceedings of members of parliament should be interfered with; it affirmed the right of subjects to petition the sovereign; and it demanded impartial juries and frequent parliaments. The Bill of Rights, far more important in English history than the Petition of Right (1628), inasmuch as parliament was now powerful enough to maintain as well as to define its rights, was supplemented by the practice, begun in the same year, 1689, of granting taxes and making appropriations for the army for one year only. Unless parliament were called every year to pass a Mutiny Act (provision for the army), the soldiers would receive no pay and in case of mutiny would not be punishable by court-martial. At the same time, a popular settlement of the vexed religious question was reached. While existing restrictions on Catholics were tightened and extended, toleration was accorded to Protestant dissenters from Anglicanism. The Toleration Act of 1689 did not go as far as the dissenters might have desired, but it granted them freedom of conscience and the legal right to worship in public.

Here, then, were the first-fruits of the "Glorious" Revolution of 1689. Absolutist monarchy was finally overthrown in Britain. Parliament was entrenched in power. The Protestant character of the state was assured. And the influence and predominance of the British aristocracy were firmly established. A new era opened in the political history of Britain—and, incidentally, in that of the world.

#### 4. THE PARLIAMENTARY OLIGARCHY AND THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

For many years after 1689 the government of Great Britain was in the hands of an oligarchy—an oligarchy of landed aristocrats (titled nobles and country squires) and of commercial and banking magnates related to the aristocracy by blood or by kindred capitalistic interest. This oligarchy enjoyed social prestige and wielded very real economic and political power.

The social prestige of the parliamentary oligarchy was in part a reward for recent national service. It had long been customary

for the mass of English tenant-farmers and agricultural laborers to regard titled noblemen and country squires as superior beings and to honor and follow them accordingly. Then, too, with the rise of capitalism it had become customary for all sorts of Britishers to evince a special deference to men of wealth. Now it was precisely these categories of wealthy and titled aristocrats that constituted the parliamentary oligarchy and that took the leadership in the "Glorious" Revolution and in the championship of parliamentary traditions and popular policies against royal absolutism and an unpopular king. What could be more natural than that on the ruins of divine-right monarchy should be builded an aristocratic régime?

However much the British aristocrats employed their régime to promote their own economic interests (and we shall presently see that they did so to a startling degree), they earned and secured the reputation of forwarding policies which were patriotic and popular. To this end they were aided by their factional division into Whigs and Tories, a division which continued throughout the eighteenth century and which enabled one faction to blame the other if anything went wrong, and thereby to stave off popular criticism of the aristocracy as a whole. There were some differences of outlook between Tories and Whigs; the former were more strictly agricultural in economics, more rigidly Anglican in religion, and more zealous in honoring the trappings of royalty, while the latter catered considerably to the commercial classes and to Protestant nonconformists, and boasted particularly of the limits they set to royal pretension. In fact, however, there was little to distinguish the two factions. Both Whigs and Tories were aristocratic; both had participated in the "Glorious" Revolution; both were devoted to the maintenance of the ensuing parliamentary oligarchy. They debated and quarrelled, often with great bitterness, but their quarrels were over office-holding rather than over broad principles.

Under the auspices of the oligarchy, the authority of parliament grew ever stronger after 1689 and that of monarchy weaker.

**The  
Reign of  
William III**

William III (1689-1702) and his sister-in-law Anne (1702-1714) were not "legitimate" hereditary monarchs; they owed the throne to parliament, which had excluded from it the son of James II. William III, more inter-

ested in getting money and soldiers to defend his native Holland against Louis XIV of France than in governing Great Britain, did pretty much as parliament directed and gave free reign to his ministers in most matters of internal administration. So long as the Whigs held a majority of seats in the House of Commons, William found that the wheels of government turned fairly smoothly if all his ministers were Whigs. On the other hand, when the Tories gained a preponderance in the House of Commons, it seemed expedient to replace Whig ministers with Tories. In this way, the king's ministers—the "cabinet," as they began to be called <sup>1</sup>—came to depend on the majority in parliament. The parliamentary oligarchy was gaining, as the king was losing, control over the executive as well as the legislative functions of the British government.

Queen Anne was more English and more spirited in her assertion of royal authority. She vetoed acts of parliament and toward the close of her reign she chose a Tory cabinet despite the fact that the parliamentary majority was Whig. On her death, however, the crown passed by act of parliament <sup>2</sup> to her cousin, the German elector of Hanover, George I. The accession of the Hanoverians proved decisive in the history of parliamentary and cabinet government in Britain.

The  
Reign of  
Queen  
Anne

George I (1714-1727) and his son and successor George II (1727-1760) were quite German. They were electors of the German state of Hanover, in addition to being kings of Great Britain. George I knew no English, and George II spoke it brokenly. In Hanover they were absolutist princes and in Hanover were their hearts. From Germany they

The  
Hano-  
verian  
Dynasty

<sup>1</sup> The word "cabinet" had been applied in the time of Charles II to an inner circle of his ministers ("privy councillors") who had met and advised with him on governmental policies in a small private room (a cabinet). It was extremely unpopular before the "Glorious" Revolution, but afterwards, when it was identified with an agency of parliamentary government, it acquired great and enduring fame.

<sup>2</sup> The Act of Settlement (1701) repeated the prohibition against the succession of the direct Catholic heirs of James II and prescribed that the crown should pass from William III to Anne and then, failing children of hers, to Sophia of Hanover and her Protestant heirs. Neither William III nor Anne left children, and Sophia predeceased Anne; hence Sophia's son became George I. Sophia was the granddaughter of James I and the daughter of that Calvinist Count Palatine of the Rhine whose election as king of Bohemia had precipitated the Thirty Years' War. Sophia had married the elector of Hanover. See above, pp. 263-265, 272, 337.

obtained their wives, their personal favorites, and their mistresses. To Britain they were foreigners, suffered to reign (but not to rule) because they represented the Protestant royal succession next in "legitimacy" to the Catholic Stuarts. The Georges enjoyed themselves in Britain after their fashion, but they were too dull-witted and too incompetent to master the intricacies of British politics. They left almost all business to the cabinet, and under George I it was usual for the king to absent himself from cabinet-meetings (it should be remembered that he could not understand what was said) and to accept every act of parliament without exercising the royal veto. All of which tended inevitably to establish the omnipotence of parliament and its cabinet.

**The Rapid  
Decline of  
Royal  
Power in  
Britain**

In so far as George I and George II concerned themselves with British politics, they favored the Whigs. The Whigs, they knew, were loud-spoken apologists of the Hanoverian succession, while the Tories they suspected of desiring a second restoration of the Stuarts. Certainly, several Tory leaders had participated in a vain attempt of the son of James II in 1715 to seat himself on the British throne as James III, and again in 1745 an extreme group of Tories—the so-called Jacobites—took part in a Scottish uprising under the grandson of James II, the dashing "Prince Charlie." In these circumstances, the Whigs not only were favored by the royal Georges but also were acclaimed by the militantly Protestant populace of Britain. During the greater part of the eighteenth century the parliamentary majority and the royal ministers were alike Whig.

It was during this period of Whig ascendancy that the office of prime minister (or premier) came into existence. Sir Robert Walpole, an outstanding Whig leader, managed for twenty-one years (from 1721 to 1742) to enjoy the favor of the king and by patronage and bribery to dominate the cabinet and a majority in the House of Commons. Though he disclaimed the title, he was generally recognized as the "prime" minister—prime in importance, prime in power. Thenceforth it became a tradition under the British Constitution that the crown should appoint from the majority-party in parliament the premier—or head of the cabinet,—and that all

**Walpole  
as Prime  
Minister**

other cabinet ministers should be appointed by the crown on the nomination of the premier.

There never has been a "British Constitution" in the sense of a single written document. It has always been a set of traditions and practices of government, the resultant of the customs, laws, and usages by which government in Britain has been organized and conducted. The Constitution has developed gradually, and changed through the course of time, especially as the result of the British revolutions of the seventeenth century.

The  
"British  
Constitu-  
tion" of  
the  
Eighteenth  
Century

By the end of the eighteenth century, however, it had acquired certain essential characters which have since distinguished it and which merit at least a summary review.

The king was still the head of the state, and in law still the ruler of his kingdom. In his name all laws were made, treaties concluded, and officials appointed. Under him both state and church were administered. But in practice (that is, by the Constitution), most of the king's functions were delegated to his "government"—to a premier and cabinet who were not his agents but the representatives of parliament. His actual authority (that is, his influence with the cabinet) varied according to circumstances and personal factors, but the delegation of functions was fairly complete. The ministers and their subordinates carried on the real business of government. The king "reigned but did not rule."

By the eighteenth century the British Constitution clearly limited the king's power in five important respects. (1) He was deprived of the right to levy taxes. For his household expenses he was granted an allowance, called the Civil List. William III, for instance, was allowed £700,000 a year. (2) The king had no right either to make laws on his own responsibility or to prevent laws from being made against his advice. The sovereign's prerogative to veto acts of parliament still existed in theory, but was not exercised after the reign of Queen Anne. (3) The king had lost control of the judiciary: he might not remove judges from office even if they gave decisions unfavorable to him; and the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 had provided that anyone who was imprisoned should be told why and given a fair legal trial. (4) The king could not maintain a standing army and hence could not wage war. (5) The

Limita-  
tions on  
Monarchy



king might not appoint to office or retain in office any minister who did not enjoy the confidence of the parliamentary majority. These restrictions on the royal authority rendered Great Britain a "limited," rather than an "absolute," monarchy.

The powers taken from the king were vested in parliament. The British revolutions of the seventeenth century had left parliament not only in enjoyment of freedom of speech for its members but with full power to levy taxes, to make laws, to remove or retain judges, to control the armed forces, and essentially to determine the policy of the government. Parliament had even taken upon itself to deprive a monarch of his "divine right" to rule, to establish a new sovereign, and to decree that never again should Great Britain have a king of the Catholic faith. More recently, through the elaboration of the "cabinet" and the rise of a "prime minister," parliament had assumed supreme authority in the nation.

This omnipotent parliament was supposed to represent the people of Great Britain, but it represented them very imperfectly and unfairly. As we have already noted, parliament consisted of two legislative assemblies or "Houses," neither one of which could make laws without the consent of the other. One of these houses, the House of Lords, was purely aristocratic. Its members were the "lords spiritual," designated bishops of the Anglican Church, and the "lords temporal," or peers, descendants of medieval feudal nobles or heirs of well-to-do persons recently ennobled by the king.<sup>1</sup> Most of the lords were owners of vast landed estates, and many of them were heavily involved in commercial and capitalistic enterprises.

As for the other house, the House of Commons, though it was more representative in appearance, it was hardly less aristocratic in fact. Part of its members, the so-called "knights of the shire," were supposed to represent all the country people, and they were elected, two for each shire or county. But a country person could not vote for them unless he had an estate worth an annual rental of forty shillings, and, since the same amount of money would then buy a good deal more than nowadays, forty shillings was a fairly large sum: it debarred all agricultural laborers and

<sup>1</sup> A peer was technically a titled nobleman who possessed an hereditary seat in the House of Lords. Many new peers were created after the "Glorious" Revolution.

many farm tenants. Persons who were qualified to vote were often afraid to vote independently, for all elections were public and anyone might learn from the poll-book how each man had voted. Frequently the electors sold their suffrages to a rich squire or an ambitious nobleman. The result was that most "knights of the shire" were landed aristocrats or dependent upon landed aristocrats.

It was likewise with the other part of the members of the House of Commons, the so-called "burgesses," who were presumed to represent the towns, or "boroughs." Throughout the eighteenth century only such towns were represented as had been represented back in the reign of Charles II, and each of these towns, regardless of size, sent two representatives, while a goodly number of newer and rapidly growing towns sent no representatives at all.<sup>1</sup> For the towns that did send representatives, no method of election was prescribed by law; each borough had its own method of election. In some towns, election was in the hands of the so-called "freemen" (of course everybody was legally free,— "freeman" was a technical term for an hereditary member of the borough corporation); in one town the "freemen" might be few, and in another they might be fairly numerous. In some towns a nobleman or a clique of commercial magnates chose the burgesses without even the formality of an election. In general, the mass of artisans, journeymen, and apprentices had no say in the choice of members of parliament; aristocrats of birth and wealth, either by outright appointment or by intimidation or bribery of electors, assured the return of burgesses favorable to themselves.

Thus parliament in the eighteenth century represented neither the various classes of society nor the masses of the population. It was certainly not democratic, and it was representative only of a rather small group of noblemen and "gentlemen." Not more than three hundred sat in the House of Lords, and it has been estimated that fewer than 1,500 controlled a majority in the House of Commons. Parliament was emphatically an oligarchy, and politics under the

**Aristocratic  
Character of  
Parliament**

<sup>1</sup> Such growing industrial towns as Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield were unrepresented in the eighteenth century. On the other hand, many a decaying town, or "rotten borough," continued to be represented. Of these, the most notorious were Old Sarum and Dunwich: the latter had been washed away by the sea, and of the former only a lonely hill marked its site; yet the traditional lords of these old places still named their "representatives" in the House of Commons.

British Constitution was essentially a gentleman's game. Aristocrats or protégés of aristocrats occupied the seats in parliament. A distinguished English statesman of the eighteenth century indicated the position of an aristocratic protégé: "He is sent here by the lord of this or the duke of that, and if he does not obey the instructions which he receives, he is held to be a dishonest man." And no "gentleman" would be dishonest.

So far we have referred to the parliament and the constitution sometimes as "English" and sometimes as "British." A word of explanation is needed. The island of Great Britain had long been partitioned between two separate kingdoms—England and Scotland—each with its own king, parliament, and state church. In 1603, as we have observed, the king of Scotland succeeded by hereditary right to the throne of England, and though for some time the two kingdoms retained separate parliaments and distinct churches and laws, Scotland was joined with England under a common king and experienced during the seventeenth century much the same revolutionary vicissitudes. In 1707, during the reign of Queen Anne, the parliaments of England and Scotland passed an Act of Union, whereby the two kingdoms were finally fused into the one kingdom of Great Britain, and the English parliament at Westminster was transformed into the British parliament by inclusion of Scottish lords and commoners. Certain peculiarities of Scottish law were retained for the northern part of the consolidated realm, and it was specifically provided that the state church should remain Presbyterian in Scotland and Anglican in England.<sup>1</sup> After 1707 it is strictly accurate to speak of the British, rather than the English, constitution and parliament.

The parliamentary oligarchy which we have been describing, then, dominated England (and Wales) and Scotland. But in addition it claimed ultimate authority over the whole British empire—Ireland and the newer overseas colonies. For the colonies, the British government appointed governors, made laws, and levied taxes, in theory at least. Some of the dependencies, especially in America, had local parliaments (or assemblies) of

<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the poor sovereigns of Great Britain, though they were at the head of the Anglican Church, had to be Presbyterian when they visited Scotland. This was not much of a strain, however, on George I or George II.

**The Union of England and Scotland as the Kingdom of Great Britain**

their own; none of them was even nominally represented in the British parliament at Westminster; and between some of them and the mother-country a good deal of friction developed in the eighteenth century.

As for Ireland, English kings had begun its military conquest as far back as the twelfth century, and by dint of many efforts and much bloodshed they had eventually brought it into political subjection. Nevertheless the majority of Irishmen remained Catholic in religion and "foreign" to Englishmen. Attempts to force the conversion of the mass of natives to the Anglican Church which Queen Elizabeth established as the "Church of Ireland" proved fruitless, and the natives were ever evincing sympathy for foreign foes of England—for Spain or for France. In the seventeenth century they fought for Charles I and James II against the triumphant Puritans and the champions of the "Glorious" Revolution. To curb the Catholic natives, successive British rulers—James I, Cromwell, and William III—settled Protestant Englishmen and Scots in northern Ireland (Ulster) and transferred large landed estates throughout the island to loyal Protestant noblemen. In Ireland, as well as in Scotland, there had long been an aristocratic local parliament, but since the close of the fifteenth century enactments of the Irish parliament, to be valid, had to be approved by the English Privy Council, and the disbarment of Catholics from it meant that the Irish parliament from the middle of the seventeenth century was dominated by an even narrower oligarchy of noblemen and "gentlemen" than that which dominated the British parliament.

Position  
of Ireland

Thus the supreme political authority in Great Britain and Ireland and the British overseas colonies in the eighteenth century was not an absolute monarch but a parliamentary oligarchy of landlords and commercial magnates. And this oligarchy used its power to increase the international importance and prestige of Britain, and incidentally to forward its own economic interests.

In domestic policies, the oligarchy (particularly its Tory element) naturally favored agriculture and the great landlords. Immediately after the "Glorious" Revolution, parliament, while increasing the tariff protection of home-grown grain, adopted a new policy of paying to landlords from the national treasury a "bounty," or money premium, for every bushel of wheat which

they exported from the country.<sup>1</sup> This policy was continued and developed during the eighteenth century by a series of so-called "corn laws," which were intended to stimulate the growing of grain in Britain, to raise the price of foodstuffs, and thereby to add to the riches of the rural landowners. Similar motives dictated promulgation of a rapidly increasing number of "enclosure acts," privileging this or that nobleman or squire to enlarge his private estate by depriving tenants of their customary right to common holdings. Seventy enclosure acts were passed for the benefit of landed aristocrats between 1700 and 1760, and during the first thirty-three years of the reign of George III (1760-1793) 1,355 such acts were passed.<sup>2</sup> The number of acres thus transferred in the eighteenth century from poor farmers and tenants to influential well-to-do landlords was at least three million.

At the same time, the parliamentary oligarchy pursued foreign policies which were calculated to foster British commerce and to extend British dominion overseas. The merchants and shippers who formed an important wing of the Whig party, as well as all patriots, were highly gratified by the course and outcome of the Wars of the League of Augsburg (1689-1697) and of the Spanish Succession (1702-1714), in which Britain fought at once against France, her chief commercial and colonial rival, and against Louis XIV, the friend of the Catholic Stuart pretenders to the British throne. From these wars, Britain obtained not only Newfoundland and Nova Scotia and additional posts in the West Indies but also valuable privileges of trade with Spanish America.<sup>3</sup> The Methuen Treaty (1703), whereby Portugal was closely allied to Britain, was similarly advantageous: it allowed British merchants to sell their wares in Portugal without hindrance; and in return Britain lowered the duties on Portuguese wines, so that "port" supplanted "burgundy" as the favorite stimulant of British gentlemen. Nor was the Union with Scotland (1707) unfavorable to British commerce; it permitted the adoption of uniform trade regulations, tariffs, and excise for all the British Isles.

<sup>1</sup> That is, when wheat was selling for less than 6s. a bushel.

<sup>2</sup> See Oliver Goldsmith, *Deserted Village* (1770).

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 339-344, 406-412.

Walpole, the great Whig prime minister from 1721 to 1742, was an apostle of peace and prosperity,<sup>1</sup> particularly the latter. He believed that economic prosperity was the be-all and the end-all of statesmanship and that, if British landlords and merchants were prosperous, Britain would prosper. His policy of prosperity was based on mercantilist ideas and consisted in strict attention to business methods in public finance, the removal of duties on imported raw materials and on exported manufactures, and the enlargement of the merchant marine. Because war might necessitate heavy financial expenditures which, he feared, would lessen the prosperity of the upper classes, he endeavored to keep peace with foreign powers. For his pacifism, however, he was bitterly assailed by the Tories and by groups of his fellow Whigs, and toward the end of his ministry he was driven by the patriotic clamors of William Pitt (the earl of Chatham) into war with Spain (the War of Jenkins's Ear, 1739) and resumption of hostilities with France (the War of the Austrian Succession).<sup>2</sup>

Sir  
Robert  
Walpole

William Pitt (1708-1778) was a most interesting type of the eighteenth-century parliamentarian. Like many others, he represented the aristocracy of new capitalism, rather than that of medieval lineage. It was his grandfather, Thomas Pitt, a vulgar and unscrupulous adventurer, known as "Diamond" Pitt, who had established the family fortunes, and he had established them in that happy hunting ground of exploitation and graft, the service of the English East India Company.<sup>3</sup> Some of his fortune Thomas Pitt had employed to purchase one of the "rotten boroughs"—that of Old Sarum—and thereby to assure representation for his family in the parliament of "gentlemen." William Pitt had abil-

William  
Pitt, Earl  
of Chat-  
ham

<sup>1</sup> Walpole was the "best master of figures of any man of his time." While he was deemed the special advocate of the commercial class, he was a great landlord and was deeply interested in the "prosperity" of his estates and his family. He enormously enriched himself from public office, and obtained in 1742 the title of earl of Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 405-406.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Pitt had been governor of Madras and acquired his nickname of "Diamond" from the fact of his having sold a diamond of extraordinary size (which he had obtained in India by most questionable means) to the duke of Orleans, cousin of Louis XIV of France, for something like £135,000. It was mainly by this transaction that the Pitts were enabled to become "gentlemen," influential in finance and in politics.

ity. He was a brilliant politician, and as an orator he was likened to Demosthenes. He speedily won popular favor by his vehement assaults on graft in public office and by his impassioned pleas for the vigorous assertion of British power in foreign and colonial matters. It was largely due to the national enthusiasm stirred up by Pitt's militarism, imperialism, and moral disquisitions, that Sir Robert Walpole was driven from office and that Britain proceeded to renew the struggle with France and Spain for world-supremacy in commerce and colonies. It was Pitt who presided over the British cabinet during the decisive period of the Seven Years' War, who sent British gold to Frederick the Great, who directed British conquest in America and India, who ensured British supremacy on the high seas.<sup>1</sup> This was the climax of Pitt's career. He was acclaimed by the mass of his fellow countrymen as the personification of British patriotism, purity, and grandeur.

The accession of George III to the British throne in 1760 changed matters somewhat. This George was grandson of the George II and great-grandson of the George I who had spoken English badly or not at all, who had been most unedifying in their private morals, who had distrusted the Tories, and who had left the cares and responsibilities of British government to their Whig ministers. George III was born and reared in England; he spoke good English—real king's English; his morals were as unimpeachable as Pitt's; he took very seriously the business of kingship; and he actually preferred the Tories, who were obsequious to him, to the Whigs, who tended to patronize him. In other words, George III, unlike his Hanoverian predecessors, was a pure and patriotic king, popular with the mass of Britishers; and with popular backing and with the help of bribery (the art of which had been highly developed by Walpole and other Whig ministers), he proceeded to transform the majority in parliament from the Whigs to the "king's friends," mainly Tory. George III had no open break with William Pitt; the king disliked the minister as a rival claimant to the honors of purity and patriotism but

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 408-409.

was content to confer upon him the title of earl of Chatham and to promote him to the House of Lords, where he was too pompous and too much the prey of gout to retain his personal hold on the British public or on the intricate politics of the parliamentary oligarchy. Gradually George III was able to get rid of Whig ministers, to constitute Tory cabinets, and to participate in government himself. From 1770 to 1782 his prime minister was Lord North, a Tory after his own heart. George III could now preside at cabinet meetings and take a direct personal part in the conduct of government.

The  
King's  
Friends

It was under the régime of the parliamentary oligarchy which we have been describing that capitalism produced a noteworthy transformation in British agriculture. Thanks to the preëminence which Great Britain was gaining in world empire and world trade, greater wealth flowed into England in the eighteenth century than into any other country.<sup>1</sup> A large part of this new wealth—this new capital—came into the hands of landlords (nobles and country gentlemen), who had long been conspicuous in commercial companies and colonial speculation and who now naturally tended to apply their augmenting profits partly to a more ostentatious living and partly to the enlargement and more remunerative operation of their ancestral landed estates. The new British capitalism was thus evidenced by prodigal expenditure of the upper classes on the erection and upkeep of palatial country houses and sumptuous London residences, on frequent and prolonged tours of the Continent, on the collecting of "curios" of all sorts, and on an astonishing amount of hunting, gambling, eating, and drinking.<sup>2</sup> It was also evidenced by a veritable agricultural revolution in Britain.

Capital-  
ism and  
the Land-  
ed Aris-  
tocracy

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 421-422.

<sup>2</sup> The heartiness of British gentlemen in the eighteenth century and their bibulousness are almost unbelievable to our more abstemious twentieth century. In those expansive days, there was prodigious drinking of port wine by the upper classes and of rum and gin by the lower classes; coffee houses were flourishing on all sides; and tea-drinking was becoming fashionable and plentiful. In more ways than one, Britain "muddled through" its great exploits of that century.



What inspired the agricultural revolution was a rapidly rising demand for farm produce. England's numerous wars, the swift expansion of her merchant marine, the growth of her woollen industry and other manufactures, and the remarkable increase of her population (which, exclusive of emigration to the colonies, almost doubled in the eighteenth century) naturally stimulated the production of foodstuffs and raw materials at the very time when the "corn laws" and "navigation acts" were artificially protecting the British market from foreign competition. There was every incentive, therefore, for the British farmer to increase the output of his land.

**Incentive  
for Agri-  
cultural  
Revolution**

To increase agricultural production required the adoption of more efficient, more "scientific," methods of farming. This, however, was not easy for the ordinary small farmer or tenant farmer. It needed imagination and courage to break with centuries of deeply rooted agricultural tradition, and it needed capital. Hence the leadership in effecting the agricultural revolution was taken by "gentlemen farmers," that is, by wealthy landlords—noblemen or country squires—who possessed considerable capital, who owned large estates on which experimentation was possible, and who made a hobby of the "new farming." Among such upper-class pioneers of "scientific" agriculture, several individuals deserve special mention.

**Scientific  
Gentle-  
man  
Farming**

One was Jethro Tull (1674-1740), the son of a Berkshire squire. After studying the classics at Oxford and law at London, and touring France and Italy, and becoming an accomplished musician, Tull settled down on his landed estate and labored systematically to increase its crops. By observation and experiment he learned the difference between good and bad seed and proved that thin sowing and constant cultivation produced the best harvest. Hitherto it had been an almost universal practice to sow grain and other crops by scattering handfuls of seed broadcast, and as a result it had been impossible to hoe the soil between the plants or keep weeds from growing amongst them. Tull, however, told his farm laborers to sow the seed in rows, leaving enough space between them so that the soil could frequently be hoed.<sup>1</sup> Then,

**Jethro  
Tull and  
Scientific  
Cultiva-  
tion**

<sup>1</sup> Tull undoubtedly got the idea from observing, during his travels on the

when his laborers protested against the additional and unusual work thus imposed upon them, he invented a "drill," which would plant the seed automatically in the way he desired, and a horse-driven hoeing machine for cultivating the soil around the plants. By these means, Tull largely increased the yield of his crops, and in 1731 he published a description of his novel methods in a famous book entitled *Horse-Hoeing Husbandry*.

Contemporary with Jethro Tull was Viscount Townshend (1674-1738), a great Whig nobleman, brother-in-law of Sir Robert Walpole. After an active political career, during which he helped to negotiate the union of Scotland with England and served as British ambassador to the Dutch Netherlands, Townshend retired to rural life and devoted himself wholly to the management of his broad acres. Not only did he exploit Tull's new methods, but he devised a novel system of crop-rotation, planting wheat, turnips, barley (or rye), and clover (or beans) in successive years. By introducing this four-year rotation and by employing better fertilizer, he more than doubled the average production of the medieval, three-field system.<sup>1</sup> From an acre of land he got an average yield of twenty-four bushels of wheat, as compared with the six or ten bushels of hitherto prevailing open-field farming. Incidentally, because he was so enthusiastic about the value of turnips, he was nicknamed "Turnip Townshend."

Viscount  
Townshend and  
Rotation  
of Crops

Another "gentleman farmer," somewhat younger, was Robert Bakewell (1725-1795), a native of Leicestershire. Besides utilizing the devices of Townshend and Tull, Bakewell won special distinction as a pioneer in the scientific breeding of farm animals—cattle, horses, and especially sheep. A notable result of the improvements made by Bakewell (and other squires who followed his example) is indicated by the fact that the average weight of calves sold at one of England's leading market-towns (Smithfield) increased from 50 lbs. in 1710 to 148 in the year 1795; of beeves, from 370 lbs. to 800; of lambs, from 18 lbs. to 50; of sheep, from 28 lbs. to 80.

Robert  
Bakewell  
and Sci-  
entific  
Breeding

All these experiments of Bakewell, Townshend, and Tull had a fascination for English noblemen and gentlemen in the eight-

Continent, the way in which French and Italian peasants cultivated their vineyards.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 52-53.

eenth century. The "new agriculture" became very fashionable at court and among the parliamentary oligarchy. George II insisted that Tull's innovations be explained to him at length, and the neglected wife of George II patronized the publication of *Horse-Hoeing Husbandry*. The poet Pope loved to "play the philosopher among cabbages." Sir Robert Walpole quarrelled with Viscount Townshend about politics, but not about turnips. Later, George III delighted in being called "Farmer George"; he established a model farm at Windsor, formed a flock of merino sheep, and experimented with stock-breeding. Robert Bakewell kept open house for British peers (and French and German dukes and Russian princes) who came to see his scientific farm—his water-canals, his plough-team of cows, his irrigated meadows, his horse-hoed crops, and, above all, his live-stock—his huge black stallion, his bull "Two-penny," and his ram "Two-pounder."

The most influential popularizer of the new agriculture was Arthur Young (1741–1820), who wielded the pen rather than the hoe. Something of a fop and gallant, and quite negligent in money matters, Young was unable to make a living on his own landed estate, but he profitably used his considerable literary gifts in telling others how they could enrich themselves from farming. Young toured Britain, Ireland, and France, noting the best methods used in different regions, and then writing books about what he had seen. He lectured on the "new agriculture," urged members of parliament to forward it, and founded a monthly magazine, *Annals of Agriculture*, for the propagation of its principles. Young's *Tours* and *Annals* were subscribed to by many upper-class Englishmen and by some "gentlemen farmers" in France, Prussia, and America; George III always carried the latest volume of the *Annals* with him in his travelling carriage. It was a spirited crusade which Arthur Young waged in behalf of agricultural change. As he put the case, more produce from the land meant higher rents for the landlord, larger incomes for farmers, better wages for laborers, more home-grown food for the nation.

Young's propaganda and the exigencies of the "new agriculture" demanded not only the protection of British agriculture against foreign competition but also the transfer of agricultural land within Britain from common to private ownership, from a

large number of tenants and lower-class farmers to a small number of capitalistic upper-class nobles and gentlemen. Such demands could readily be met by these very nobles and gentlemen, for they it was who, devoted to the new agriculture and imbued with Arthur Young's convictions, could utilize their predominant position in parliament to enact the necessary "corn laws" and "enclosure laws." They did so. The process of "enclosure," to which we have already referred,<sup>1</sup> reached gigantic proportions in the reign of George III. It was a significant aspect of the British agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century.

**Supremacy of the Landed Aristocracy in Politics and Economics**

In the midst of agrarian transformation in Britain, and soon after the accession of "Farmer George" and the Tories to political power, the parliamentary oligarchy was suddenly confronted with serious problems arising from the American phase of the Seven Years' War (1763). Canada had been wrested from France, but the conquest had cost vast sums of money which someone had to pay. In attempting to solve this problem in a manner that would not put too many financial burdens upon English landowners, parliament and the king unwittingly precipitated another—a third—political revolution. This revolution, unlike the Puritan Revolution and the "Glorious" Revolution did not take place in England or Scotland. It occurred in thirteen overseas colonies and is known in history as the American Revolution. But its effects on the political evolution of modern Europe—and of the modern world—were even more direct and far-reaching than those of the "Glorious" Revolution.

**The Brewing of Another Political Revolution**

## 5. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

At the close of the Seven Years' War (1763), Great Britain was mistress of an extensive colonial empire.<sup>2</sup> To British capital-

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 461-462. Also see below, pp. 716-717.

<sup>2</sup> The empire then embraced Barbados (1605), Virginia (1607), Bermuda (1609), Gambia (1618), Massachusetts (1620), St. Christopher (1623), Nevis (1628), Montserrat (1632), Antigua (1632), Maryland (1634), Rhode Island (1636), Honduras (1638), St. Lucia (1638), Connecticut (1639), Madras (1639), Gold Coast (1650), St. Helena (1651), North Carolina (1653), Jamaica (1655), Bombay (1661), New York (1664), New Jersey (1664), Delaware (1664), Bahamas (1666), Virgin Islands (1666), South Carolina (1671), New Hampshire (1679), Pennsylvania (1681), Gibraltar (1713), Newfoundland (1713), Nova Scotia (1713), Hudson's Bay Territory (1713), Georgia (1733), Quebec, and Prince Edward Island (1763),

ists and to the British government, the best part of the empire seemed to be its semi-tropical holdings in India and the West Indies, for these supplied commodities which could not be procured in the mother-country and which could be exploited on terms most favorable to British traders and merchants and, incidentally, to the British upper classes. Yet comparatively few Britishers made permanent homes in these semi-tropical holdings; they were too hot and they had too many acclimated natives (in the case of India) or too many imported negroes (as in the case of the West Indies); they were profitable for commerce and investment but not very promising for actual colonization.

For actual colonization the most favorable part of the British empire was the strip of American seaboard in the north temperate zone, and hither had immigrated an ever increasing number of Englishmen, Scots, and Irish, together with a considerable number of French Huguenots and Dutch and German and Swedish Protestants. By the middle of the eighteenth century there was an English-speaking population of about 1,300,000 in the thirteen separate colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia.

In these thirteen colonies Englishmen predominated, and they had naturally brought with them the political ideas and institutions of seventeenth-century England. In the colonies, just as in England, the legal system was characterized by the common law and by jury-trials. In each colony was established an assembly (or legislature) patterned more or less closely after the English House of Commons; in Virginia, for example, the assembly, or "House of Burgesses," like the English lower House, comprised two burgesses from each town or borough and representatives from the counties. In most colonies, a royal governor headed the administration as a kind of viceroy of the English monarch; and the relations between royal governor and assembly in almost every colony reflected the relations between king and parliament in the mother-country.<sup>1</sup> A colonial assembly, like the home parliament, claimed that, without its consent, no

Dominica (1763), St. Vincent (1763), Grenada (1763), Tobago (1763), Florida (1763), and Bengal (1733-1763).

<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, this statement applies only to the nine colonies which had royal governors and the two (Pennsylvania and Maryland) which had "proprietors." Rhode Island and Connecticut possessed charters permitting them to elect their own governors.

direct tax might be imposed and no law passed. Repeatedly a colonial assembly, taking its cue from the home parliament, would hold up financial appropriations in order to compel the royal governor to accept its policies or to appoint officials in whom it had confidence. The British revolutions of the seventeenth century had their counterparts in America, so that by the eighteenth century certain classes in the colonies, as well as certain classes in Great Britain, possessed considerable rights of self-government. And in claiming and obtaining such rights of self-government the colonists justified themselves on the ground that they were claiming and obtaining the traditional "rights of Englishmen." In a word, the limitation on monarchical absolutism and the practice of representative government in the thirteen colonies were by-products of the revolutionary development of the British parliament in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

But the thirteen American colonies went farther than the mother-country in revolutionary development. Colonial conditions were more favorable than Britain's for the adoption of really radical experiments in politics.

**Political  
Radical-  
ism in the  
British  
Colonies**

(1) The religious situation in America was more favorable to political radicalism. Whereas the majority of Englishmen in the home-country were Anglican Christians, used to bishops, to ritual, and to royal headship of the church, the large majority of Englishmen (and other settlers) in the colonies were dissenters from Anglicanism. There were a few Catholics in Maryland, and a considerable number of Anglicans in Virginia, Carolina, and New York. But the Anglicans in America had no resident bishop and they tended toward "low church" Puritanism, while almost everywhere in the colonies the masses were radical Puritans: Congregational in Massachusetts and Connecticut; Baptist in Rhode Island; Quaker in Pennsylvania; and Presbyterian or Dutch Reformed or some other kind of Calvinist in the middle and southern colonies. This meant that the mass of colonists were especially intolerant of Catholicism and distrustful of episcopacy, and that they were far more sympathetic with the principles underlying the Puritan Revolution of Cromwell and his Independents than with the compromise effected by the "Glorious" Revolution of Anglican aristocrats.

(2) Economic and social conditions in America were also more favorable. In the colonies there was no powerful class of hereditary nobles, such as flourished in Great Britain. New England had been settled by people of the middle and lower classes, aristocrats being conspicuous by their absence; here the shippers and shopkeepers of the towns were influential, and each farmer was an independent landowner rather than the tenant of a feudal lord. It is true that in Virginia and Carolina, "gentlemen" of aristocratic lineage had acquired "plantations" and taken up a mode of living similar to that of English nobles and squires, but as the plantations were cultivated by negro slaves, the aristocracy of the South was based on the subjection of one race to another rather than upon the subjection of some white men to others; and here, as elsewhere in the southern and middle colonies, there was a constant influx of lower-class immigrants who became tradesmen or small-scale farmers. Besides, there was so much unoccupied land on the colonial frontiers that any white man could become an independent landowner by moving on and clearing a farm of his own. The frontiersman was a novel and very important element in British colonial life in America; he learned to be self-reliant and self-assertive; and he emphasized the tendency among colonists to brook no social superior. As William Penn once complained, the colonists seemed to "think nothing taller than themselves but the trees." In America, unlike Britain, there could be little familiarity with dukes and earls, but considerable impatience with a parliamentary oligarchy intent upon the conservation of aristocracy.

(3) Geographical conditions likewise favored political radicalism in America. The colonies were so far away from the mother-country, and communication across the Atlantic was so slow and arduous in the days of sailing vessels, that it was not easy to control the details of their government from England. Moreover, since the colonies on the North American coast were at first considered rather poor and unprofitable, it hardly seemed worth while to interfere very systematically with their local affairs. The Stuart kings were too absorbed in their effort to establish monarchical absolutism in England to pay close or continuous attention to its establishment in America. And the succeeding parliamentary oligarchy found it convenient and desirable to concentrate their thought on the promotion of

landed and commercial interests in the mother-country and for a time to be quite neglectful of the colonies. In this way the colonists grew ever more accustomed to managing their own affairs and resenting any threatened interference by the home government as tyranny.

In one very important matter—the matter of commerce—the parliamentary oligarchy in Great Britain was thoroughly committed to a policy which involved interference with the colonies. This policy was based on mercantilism, the notion that the government should regulate the commerce of its subjects in such a way as to build up the country's wealth and power. Now the colonists were obviously British subjects, and, according to mercantilist doctrine, they owed a threefold duty to the nation: (1) they should furnish the mother-country with commodities which could not be produced at home; (2) they should not injure the mother country by competing with her industries or by enriching her commercial rivals; and (3) they should help bear the burdens of the government, army, and navy. Quite logically, therefore, the British statesmen of the eighteenth century, backed by the parliamentary oligarchy, attempted to make the colonists do their duty.

British  
Interference  
with  
Colonial  
Com-  
merce and  
Industry

(1) Various expedients were employed to encourage the production of particular colonial commodities which the British parliament thought desirable. The commodity might be exempted from customs duties, or parliament might forbid the importation into Great Britain of similar products from foreign countries, or might even bestow outright upon the colonial producer "bounties," or sums of money, as an incentive to persevere in the industry. Thus the cultivation of indigo in Carolina, of coffee in Jamaica, of tobacco in Virginia, was encouraged, so that the British would not have to buy these commodities from Spain. Similarly, bounties were given for tar, pitch, hemp, masts, and spars imported from America rather than from Sweden.

(2) Many regulations were adopted to prevent colonial commerce or industry from endangering the profits of manufacturers or shippers in Great Britain. Of the colonial industries which were discouraged for this reason, two or three are particularly noteworthy. Thus the hat manufacturers in America, though they could make hats cheaply, because of the plentiful



supply of fur in the New World, were forbidden to manufacture any for export, lest they should ruin the hatters of London. The weaving of cloth was likewise discouraged by a law of 1699 which prohibited the export of woollen fabrics from one colony to another. Again, it was thought necessary to protect British iron-masters by forbidding (1750) the colonists to manufacture wrought iron or its finished products. Such restrictions on manufacture were imposed, not so much for fear of actual competition in the English market, as from desire to keep the colonial markets for English manufacturers. They caused a good deal of rancor, but they were too ill enforced to bear heavily upon the colonies.

More irksome were the restrictions on commerce. As far back as 1651, when Dutch traders were bringing spices from the East and sugar from the West to sell in London at a handsome profit, parliament had passed the first famous Navigation Act, which had been successful in its general design—to weaken the Dutch carrying trade and to stimulate British ship-building. In the eighteenth century a similar policy was applied to the colonies. For it was claimed that the New England traders who sold their fish and lumber for sugar, molasses, and rum in the French West Indies were enriching French planters rather than English. Consequently, a heavy tariff was laid on French sugar-products. Moreover, inasmuch as it was deemed most essential for a naval power to have many and skilled ship-builders, the Navigation Acts <sup>1</sup> were so developed and expanded as to include the following prescriptions. (1) In general, all import and export trade must be conducted in ships built in England, in Ireland, or in the colonies, manned and commanded by British subjects. Thus, if a French or Dutch merchantman appeared in Massachusetts Bay, offering to sell at a great bargain his cargo of spices or silks, the merchants of Boston were legally bound not to buy of him. (2) Certain “enumerated” articles such as sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, and, later, rice and furs, could be exported only to England. A Virginia planter, wishing to send tobacco to a French snuff-maker, would have to ship it to London in an English ship, pay duties on it there, and then have it reshipped to Havre. (3) All goods imported into the American colonies from Europe must come by way of England

<sup>1</sup> Subsequent to the Act of 1651, important Navigation Acts were passed in 1660, 1663, 1672, and 1696.

and must pay duties there. Silks might be more expensive after they had paid customs duties in London and had followed a roundabout route to Virginia, but the aspiring colonial dame was supposed, in paying dearly, to rejoice that English ships and English sailors were employed in transporting her finery.

Some of the regulations of colonial industry and trade were doubtless beneficial to the colonists, but they were made by the British parliament, without sanction of the colonial legislatures, and in the main they were prejudicial to the economic interests of the colonies. Yet for some time they were tolerated by the colonists for three chief reasons.

Why  
British In-  
terference  
Was Long  
Tolerated  
by the  
Colonists

In the first place, for many years they had been very poorly enforced. During his long ministry, from 1721 to 1742, Sir Robert Walpole had winked at infractions of the law and had allowed the colonies to develop as best they might under his policy of "salutary neglect." Then, during the colonial wars, it had been inexpedient and impossible to insist upon the Navigation Acts; and smuggling had become so common that respectable merchants made no effort to conceal their traffic in goods which had been imported contrary to provisions of the law.

Secondly, the colonies would gladly endure a good deal of economic hardship in order to have the help of the mother-country against the French. So long as France was in possession of Canada and French governors at Quebec were sending their Indian allies southward and eastward to burn New England villages, it was very comforting to think that the mother-country would send armies of redcoats to conquer the savages and defeat the French.

Thirdly, the American colonists were too weak and too divided, prior to the second half of the eighteenth century, to make common and effective cause against the restrictions which the mother-country put upon their trade and industry. The thirteen colonies were distinct entities, disparate in origin, in social structure, in religious composition, and in economic activity. The southern colonies—Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia—were almost wholly agricultural, and their chief products were plantation-grown rice, indigo, and tobacco. New York and Pennsylvania produced corn and timber. In New England, although there were

many small farmers, the growing interest was in trade and manufacture. The social distinctions were equally marked. The northern colonists were middle-class traders and small farmers, with democratic town governments, and with a marked pride in education. In the South, gentlemen of good old English families lived like feudal lords among their slaves and cultivated manners quite as assiduously as morals. Of forms of the Christian religion, the Atlantic coast, as we have seen, presented a bizarre mixture. In the main, New England was emphatically Calvinist and sternly Puritan; Virginia, chiefly Episcopalian (Anglican); and Maryland, partly Roman Catholic. Plain-spoken Quakers in Pennsylvania, Presbyterians in New Jersey, Baptists in Rhode Island, elsewhere sprinklings of French Huguenots and German Lutherans and Mennonites, added to the confusion.

Between colonies so radically different in religion, manners, and industries, there could be at the outset little harmony or co-operation. It would be hard to arouse them to concerted action. Financial coöperation was impeded by the fact that the paper money issued by any one colony was not worth much in the others. Military coöperation was difficult because, while each colony might call on its farmers temporarily to join the militia in order to repel an Indian raid, the militia-men were always anxious to get back to their crops and would obey a strange commander with ill grace. The 1,300,000 colonists, even if united, could hardly be a match for the ten million inhabitants of Great Britain: and in wealth and resources they could scarcely dream of rivalling the mother-country.

With the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763, however, conditions were materially changed. (1) The fear of the

**Changed Situation in 1763** French was no longer present to bind the thirteen colonies to the mother-country. (2) During the wars the

colonies had grown not only more populous (they numbered about 2,000,000 inhabitants in 1763) and more wealthy, but also more self-confident. Recruits from the northern colonies had captured Louisburg in 1745 and had helped to conquer Canada in the last French war. Virginia volunteers had seen how helpless were General Braddock's redcoats in forest-warfare. Experiences like these gave the provincial riflemen pride and confidence. Important also was the Albany Congress of 1754,

in which delegates from seven colonies came together and discussed Benjamin Franklin's scheme for federating the thirteen colonies. Although the plan was not adopted, it set colonists to thinking about the advantages of confederation and so prepared the way for subsequent union.

The conclusion of the French and Indian War coincided roughly with the accession of George III to the British throne and with his determination to bring the Tories and his other "friends" to power and to prove himself an even greater patriot than William Pitt. But it coincided also with a grave financial crisis, for the expense of the recent war had been very great and the British public debt amounted in 1763 to what was then the enormous sum of £140,000,000. Consequently, when George III in 1763 called George Grenville<sup>1</sup> to head the cabinet, king and minister were agreed that the American colonies must shoulder part of the mother-country's burdens of finance and national defense. Great Britain, they argued, had undergone a costly war to defend the colonists on the Atlantic coast from French aggression. Moreover, the acquisition of the extensive Mississippi and St. Lawrence valleys had placed new burdens on Great Britain, for, in order to prevent renewed danger from French, Spaniards, or Indians, at least ten thousand regular soldiers would be needed at an annual expense of £300,000. What could be more natural than that the colonists, to whose benefit the war had redounded, and to whose safety the army would add, should pay at least a part of the expense?

**Britain's  
Financial  
Exigencies**

Grenville, the new minister, accordingly proposed that the colonists should pay about £150,000 a year,—roughly a half of the estimated total amount,—and for raising the money, he championed two special finance acts in the British parliament. The first was the Sugar Act of 1764. Grenville recognized that a very high tariff on the importation of foreign sugar-products into the colonies invited smuggling on a large scale, was therefore generally evaded, and yielded little revenue to the government. As a matter of fact, in the previous year, Massachusetts merchants had smuggled 15,000 hogsheads

**The Sugar  
Act**

<sup>1</sup> George Grenville, prime minister from 1763 to 1765, was a Whig, but as the leader of a faction hostile to Pitt he was willing to serve the king in cooperation with the Tories.

of molasses<sup>1</sup> from the French West Indies. Now, in accordance with the new enactment, the duty was actually halved, but a serious attempt was made to collect what remained. For the purpose of the efficient collection of the sugar tax, the Navigation Acts were revived and enforced; British naval officers were ordered to put a peremptory stop to smuggling; and magistrates were empowered to issue "writs of assistance" enabling customs collectors to search private houses for smuggled goods. The Sugar Act was expected to yield a third of the amount demanded by the British ministry.

The other two thirds of the £150,000 were to be raised under the Stamp Act of 1765. Bills of lading, official documents, deeds, wills, mortgages, notes, newspapers, and pamphlets were to be written or printed only on special stamped paper, on which the tax had been paid. Playing cards paid a stamp tax of a shilling; dice paid ten shillings; and on a college diploma the tax amounted to £2. The Stamp Act bore heavily on newspaper-publishers, pamphleteers, lawyers, bankers, and merchants. These were influential groups in the colonies, and it was they who promptly inspired a widespread unrest throughout the colonies. A Boston lawyer, James Otis by name, created the popular slogan, "taxation without representation is tyranny."

It was argued by colonial lawyers generally that the colonists were true British subjects and that taxation without representation was a flagrant violation of the "immemorial rights of Englishmen." They might be taxed by their own colonial legislatures, in which they were represented, but not by the British parliament, in which they were not represented.

Many colonists, less learned than the lawyers, were unacquainted with the subtleties of the argument, but they were quite willing to be persuaded that in refusing to pay taxes levied by the parliamentary oligarchy in England they were contending for a great principle of liberty and self-government. Opposition to the stamp tax spread like wildfire and culminated in a Congress at New York in October, 1765, comprising delegates from nine colonies. The "Stamp Act Congress," as it was called, issued a declaration of rights—the rights of trial by

<sup>1</sup> Large quantities of molasses were used in New England for the manufacture of rum

jury<sup>1</sup> and of self-taxation—and formally protested against the Stamp Act.

Parliament might have disregarded the declaration of the Congress, but not the tidings of popular excitement, of mob violence, of stamp-collectors burned in effigy. Moreover, colonial boycotts against British goods—"non-importation agreements"—were effective in creating sentiment in England in favor of conciliation. Taking advantage of Grenville's resignation, a new ministry under the marquess of Rockingham, a liberal Whig, procured the repeal of the obnoxious Stamp Act in March, 1766.<sup>2</sup> While the particular tax was abandoned, a Declaratory Act was issued, affirming the constitutional right of parliament to legislate for the colonies.

Colonial  
Opposi-  
tion

This right was asserted again in 1767 by a brilliant but reckless chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townshend, who, without the consent of the other ministers, put through parliament the series of acts which bear his name. His intention was to raise a regular colonial revenue for the support of colonial governors, judges, and other officers as well as for the defense of the colonies. For these purposes, import duties were laid on glass, lead, painters' colors, paper, and tea; the duties were to be collected by English commissioners resident in the American ports; and infractions of the law in America were to be tried in courts without juries.

The Towns-  
hend Acts

The Townshend Acts brought forth immediate and indignant protests. Colonial merchants renewed and extended their non-importation agreements. Within a year the imports from Great Britain fell off by more than £700,000. The customs officers were unable or afraid to collect the duties strictly, and it is said that in three years the total revenue from them amounted to only £16,000. Troops were despatched to overawe Boston, but the angry Bostonians hooted and hissed the "lobsterbacks," as the redcoats were derisively styled, and in 1770 provoked them to actual bloodshed—the so-called "Boston Massacre."

At this crucial moment, King George III chose a new prime minister, Lord North, a Tory gentleman of ability and charm, unfailingly humorous, and unswervingly faithful to the king.

<sup>1</sup> The right of trial by jury had been violated by British officials in punishing smugglers.

<sup>2</sup> Rockingham retired in July, 1766.

Among his first measures was the repeal (1770) of the hated Townshend duties. Merely a tax of threepence a pound on tea was retained, in order that the colonies might not think that parliament had surrendered its right to tax them. Lord North even made an arrangement with the East India Company whereby tea was sold so cheaply that it would not pay to smuggle tea from the Dutch.

But the colonists would not now yield even the principle of parliamentary taxation.<sup>1</sup> They insisted that were they to pay this tax, trifling as it might be, parliament would assert that they had acknowledged its right to tax them, and would soon lay heavier burdens upon them. They, therefore, refused to buy the tea, and on a cold December night in 1773 a number of Boston citizens dressed up like Indians, boarded a British tea ship, and emptied 342 chests of tea into the harbor.

Boston's "tea-party" brought punishment swift and sure in the famous five "intolerable acts" (1774). Boston harbor was closed; Massachusetts was practically deprived of self-government; royal officers who committed capital offenses were to be tried in England or in other colonies; royal troops were quartered on the colonists; and the province of Quebec was extended south to the Ohio River, cutting off vast western territories claimed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia. The so-called

**The Quebec Act** Quebec Act, which authorized this extension of a formerly French province, was particularly important.

For in seeking to assure the loyalty of the Catholic French Canadians to Great Britain, it granted to the Catholic Church in Quebec a toleration and even a privileged position which were in sharp contrast with the harsh anti-Catholic laws in Britain and the other British possessions and which evoked special opposition from the Puritan masses in the thirteen colonies.

In the same year (1774) the first Continental Congress of delegates from all the colonies<sup>2</sup> met in Philadelphia "to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures, to be by them recommended to all the colonies, for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious, and the restoration

<sup>1</sup> Despite the fact that the colonists had regularly been paying import duties levied by the British parliament on molasses and on foreign wine.

<sup>2</sup> Except Georgia.

of union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies." The Congress despatched a petition to George III and urged the colonists to be faithful to the "American Association" for the non-importation of British goods.

Neither king nor colonists would yield a point. William Pitt, now earl of Chatham, spoke in the House of Lords in behalf of compromise, and Edmund Burke, another eminent Whig, urged conciliation on the House of Commons. But like the king, the majority in the British parliament were adamant; they knew that the colonial claims were novel and revolutionary and believed that firmness would lead to their withdrawal. As for the colonists, a growing faction among them—the so-called "patriots"—were already fast drifting into actual rebellion. In April, 1775, fighting took place between American colonials and English soldiers at Lexington in Massachusetts. A month later a second Continental Congress, this one representing all the thirteen colonies, addressed a final petition to George III for the redress of colonial grievances and entrusted the command of the combined colonial militias to a Virginia country gentleman, George Washington.

**Impasse  
between  
Britain  
and the  
Colonies,  
and Pre-  
parations  
for War**

Not all the American colonists were rebellious. A fairly large group, called "Loyalists," or "Tories," remained loyal to the king and did what they could to uphold the British cause in America; and probably an even larger number of colonists were at first indifferent to what went on or undecided as to which cause to espouse. The group of "Patriots," however, were energetic and were determined, if necessary, to defy the British parliament as well as the British king; and circumstances enabled them to increase in number and gain eventual control of the colonial legislatures and the continental congresses.

**Division  
in the  
Colonies  
between  
"Patri-  
ots" and  
"Loyal-  
ists"**

In the excitement, "Patriots" circulated throughout the colonies many an inflammatory pamphlet. One of the most famous, entitled *Common Sense*, was from the pen of Thomas Paine, a radical Englishman who had emigrated to America and who sympathized with the colonists. The time had come, Paine declared, for the colonies to decide on a "final separation" from England. There was no reason for remaining loyal to the king. Monarchs, after all, had no "divine right" to rule their fellow



men. Kings were merely "crowned ruffians." If they had unlimited powers, they were despots; whereas if they were constitutional monarchs, as the king of England was supposed to be, they were useless and expensive figureheads. Paine's pamphlet was published at Philadelphia in January, 1776, just at the moment when George III, turning a deaf ear to all colonial petitions and conciliatory pleas, was calling for troops to crush the rebellion in America. In such circumstances, *Common Sense* and other similar pamphlets were bought and read by thousands of colonists, who, no longer feeling veneration for the British monarchy or empire, felt justified in fighting for complete independence. What had begun as opposition to taxes at once assumed the character of a political revolution.

On 4 July, 1776, the Continental Congress took thoroughly revolutionary action. It unanimously adopted a "declaration of independence," which had been written for the most part by a Virginia country gentleman, Thomas Jefferson, and which expressed principles utterly at variance with those not only of divine-right monarchy but also of any unpopular government. (1) All men—not merely Englishmen—are endowed by their Creator, the Declaration boldly asserted, with certain "inalienable rights," among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. (2) All governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed"—a succinct statement of the principle of popular, as opposed to aristocratic, government. (3) Hence it is perfectly justifiable to overthrow a tyrannical government and to establish a popular one, by force of arms if necessary; in other words, there is a "right of revolution."<sup>1</sup> On these bases of inalienable rights, popular sovereignty, and the right of revolution, the declaration solemnly concluded that "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states."

In America the declaration of independence was joyously acclaimed by all "Patriots." In New York City they pulled down the leaden statue of King George and molded it into bullets. Everywhere they exiled or silenced the "Tories," revolutionized

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Jefferson later went so far as to argue that frequent revolutions are a good "medicine" for democracy. "The tree of liberty," he said, "must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants."

the several colonial governments, and insisted that the "United States" were no longer a group of rebellious colonies but a belligerent nation entitled to recognition and aid from other nations.

In Great Britain, parliament and king vied with each other in denouncing the declaration as an act of treason and persisted in viewing the colonists as rebels. In vain did the revolutionary colonists seek the mediation of English Whigs and the coöperation of the French Canadians in Quebec and Nova Scotia. These latter had only recently become British subjects, and it was imagined that they would welcome the opportunity to join in a revolt against Great Britain. But the French Canadians were Catholic, and they had reason to believe that their religion and their nationality would be safer in the custody of far-away Britain than in that of the nearer and more radically Protestant United States; Quebec and Nova Scotia remained loyal.

It is possible, in the circumstances, that the thirteen colonies might have been reduced to submission within a short time, for many of the well-to-do colonists were opposed to war with England, and the French Canadians were more disposed to fight for Britain than for the British colonists. Even had the "people of the United States" supported the struggle unanimously, they were no match for Great Britain in wealth, population, or naval power. As it was, however, Great Britain allowed the revolution to get under full headway before making a serious effort to suppress it. Then, in 1776, a force of about 30,000 men, many of whom were mercenary German soldiers, commonly called "Hessians," was sent to occupy New York.

**The Revolutionary War in America**

Thenceforward, the British pursued aggressive tactics, and inasmuch as their armies were generally superior to those of the colonists in numbers, discipline, and equipment, and besides were supported by powerful fleets, they were able to possess themselves of the important colonial ports of New York, Philadelphia, and Charlestown,<sup>1</sup> and to win many victories. On the other hand, the region to be conquered was extensive and the rebel armies stubborn and elusive. Moreover, the colonists possessed a skillful leader in the person of the aristocratic Virginian planter who has already been mentioned as taking a part

<sup>1</sup> Name changed to Charleston in 1783.

in the French and Indian War.<sup>1</sup> At first, George Washington was criticized for bringing the gravity of a judge and the dignified bearing of a courtier to the battlefield, but he soon proved his ability. He was wise enough to retreat before superior forces, always keeping just out of harm's way, and occasionally catching his incautious pursuer unawares, as at Princeton or Trenton.

One of the crucial events of the war was the surrender of the British General Burgoyne with some six thousand men at Saratoga, in October, 1777, after he had invaded New York from Canada. At that very time, Benjamin Franklin, a public-spirited citizen of Philadelphia, was in Paris attempting to persuade France to ally herself with the United States. Franklin's charming personality, his "republican plainness," his shrewd common sense, as well as his knowledge of philosophy and science, made him welcome in the "enlightened" salons of Paris; but the French government, although still smarting under the humiliating treaty of 1763, would not yield to his persuasion until the American victory at Saratoga seemed to indicate that the time had come to strike. An alliance with the United States was concluded, and in 1778 war was declared against Great Britain.

The war now took on a larger aspect. In its scale of operations and in its immediate significance the fighting in the colonies was dwarfed by a world-wide conflict. In the attack upon Great Britain, France was presently joined by Spain (1779). Holland, indignant at the way in which Great Britain had tried to exclude Dutch traders from commerce with America, joined the Bourbons (1780) against their common foe. Other nations, too, had become alarmed at the rapid growth and domineering maritime policy of Great Britain. Since the outbreak of hostilities, British captains and admirals had claimed the right to search and seize neutral vessels trading with America or bearing contraband of war. Against this dangerous practice, Catherine II of Russia protested vigorously, and in 1780 formed with Sweden and Denmark the "armed neutrality of the North" to uphold the protest with force, if necessary. Prussia, Portugal, the Two Sicilies, and the Holy Roman Empire subsequently pronounced their adherence

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 408.

to the Armed Neutrality, and Great Britain was confronted by an almost unanimously hostile Europe.

In the actual operations against Great Britain only three nations figured—France, Spain, and Holland; and of the three the last named caused little trouble except in the North Sea. More to be feared were France and Spain, for by them the British Empire was attacked in all its parts. For a while in 1779 even the home country was threatened by a Franco-Spanish fleet of sixty-six sail, conveying an army of 60,000 men; but the threat was dissipated. Powerful Spanish and French forces, launched against Great Britain's Mediterranean possessions, succeeded in taking Minorca, but were repulsed by the British garrison of Gibraltar.

The  
War of  
American  
Inde-  
pendence

On the continent of North America the insurgent colonists, aided by French fleets and French soldiers, gained a signal victory. An American army under Washington, a French army under the Marquis de Lafayette, and a French fleet suddenly closed in upon the British general, Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown, Virginia, and compelled him to surrender in October, 1781, with over 7,000 men. The capitulation of Cornwallis virtually decided the struggle in America, for all the reserve forces of Great Britain were required in Europe, in the West Indies, and in Asia.

Matters were going badly for Great Britain until a naval victory in the Caribbean Sea partially redeemed the day. For three winters an indecisive war had been carried on in the West Indies, but in 1782 thirty-six British ships, under the gallant Rodney, met the French Count de Grasse with thirty-three sail of the line near the group of islands known as "the Saints," and a great battle ensued in April, 1782. During the fight the wind suddenly veered around, making a great gap in the line of French ships, and into this gap sailed the British admiral, breaking up the French fleet, and, in the confusion, capturing six vessels.

While the battle of "the Saints" saved the British power in the West Indies, the outlook in the East became less favorable. At first the British had been successful in seizing the French forts in India (1778) and in defeating (1781) the native ally of the French, Hyder Ali, the sultan of Mysore. But in 1782 the balance was evened by victories of the French admiral Suffren.

Unsuccessful in America, inglorious in India, expelled from



Minorca, faced with revolt in Ireland, and weary of war, England was very ready for peace, but not entirely humbled. Was she not still secure in the British Channel, victorious over the Dutch, triumphant in the Caribbean, unshaken in India, and unmoved on Gibraltar? Defeat, but not humiliation, was the keynote of the treaties (1783) which Great Britain concluded, one at Paris with the United States, and one at Versailles with France and Spain.

By the treaty of Paris the former thirteen colonies were recognized as the sovereign and independent United States of America,—bounded on the north by Canada and the Great Lakes, on the east by the Atlantic, on the west by the Mississippi, and on the south by Florida. Important fishing rights on the Newfoundland Banks and the privilege of navigation on the Mississippi were extended to the new nation.

The  
Treaty of  
Paris

Had it not been for the disastrous battle of "the Saints," France might have dictated very favorable terms in the treaty of Versailles, but, as it was, she merely regained Tobago in the West Indies and Senegal in Africa, which she had lost in 1763.<sup>1</sup> Better than France fared Spain. By the treaty of Versailles she received the island of Minorca and the territory of Florida, which then included the southern portions of what later became the American states of Alabama and Mississippi.

The  
Treaty of  
Versailles

Holland, the least important participant in the war, was not a party to the treaty of Versailles, but was left to conclude a separate treaty with Great Britain in the following year (1784). The Dutch not only were deprived of commercial stations in India, but also were forced to share with British merchants the valuable trade of the Malay archipelago.

The vital significance of the War of American Independence (1776-1783) lay not, however, in territorial gains of Spain and France or in commercial losses of Holland or even in diminished dominion of Great Britain. It lay rather in the fact that the war had assured the success of the American Revolution and had thereby, perhaps indirectly but none the less really, dealt a decisive blow both at divine-right monarchy and at aristocratic privilege.

Success  
of the  
American  
Revolution

The American Revolution carried the principles of the earlier

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 412.

British Revolutions—the Puritan Revolution and the “Glorious” Revolution—to a more nearly logical conclusion. It got rid of a king not merely, but of kingship itself. It exalted parliamentary, that is representative, government, but it exalted even more the people represented. Far more clearly than the earlier revolutions, it invoked the doctrines of popular sovereignty and national self-determination. As the British revolutions of the seventeenth century had paved the way for the triumph of aristocracy in Britain, so the American revolution of the eighteenth century paved the way for the trial of democracy in the United States—and in the world.

From the American Revolution and its attendant international war emerged a new independent nation—the United States,—  
**Emergence of the United States of America** basing its right to existence on popular sovereignty and successful revolution. Its very origin rendered the United States a horrible example for absolute monarchs and a source of inspiration for oppressed peoples. Besides, the United States, once free, set about the task of governing itself in an ever more democratic manner.

At first the state legislatures, which supplanted the colonial assemblies, were not very democratic. The franchise was limited to males and usually to landowners and the more well-to-do classes. Often, too, there was a religious qualification, excluding all except Protestants or a particular kind of Protestants from the privilege of voting. Only men of considerable wealth were eligible for election to important offices in the several states. On the other hand, there was no hereditary aristocracy, no House of Lords, and the governors, instead of being appointed by a far-away king or minister, were elected by the people or by the legislatures. And gradually (and relatively rapidly) religious disabilities and property qualifications were done away with in one state after another of the American Union.

In the meantime, noteworthy progress was made in federating the several states into a strong republican nation. Here again,  
**Federating the United States** the first steps were halting. In 1777 the revolutionary Continental Congress had drafted “articles of confederation” for the United States, but, as finally ratified by the several states in 1781, they provided for hardly more than a loose permanent alliance of thirteen nations. In 1787, however, a firm step was taken. A fairly detailed written

constitution was drafted at Philadelphia, welding the thirteen nations into one. While each state was to manage its own local affairs and legislate on some matters, a strong federal government was set up, with wide but specified powers and with agencies of its own: a House of Representatives, chosen by popular vote; a Senate, representing the states; an elected President, to execute the laws; and a Supreme Court, to act as court of last resort. In 1791 this federal constitution was amended so as to guaranty personal liberties, and the extraordinary provision was inserted, doubtless because of the multiplicity of religions in America, that "congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

**The Constitution of 1789**

In 1789 the new constitution went into effect, and George Washington became the first president of the United States. Under Washington's guidance and with the assistance of an able group of coöperating statesmen, the novel constitution proved practicable and gathered prestige at home and abroad. This prestige was heightened in 1797 when Washington, having served two terms of four years each without evincing the slightest inclination to make himself a dictator, voluntarily relinquished the presidency and was succeeded in strictly legal manner by a hard-working Massachusetts "patriot," John Adams. Thereafter the presidency continued to be handed on from one person to another, sometimes after most exciting electoral campaigns, but never contrary to constitutional prescription; and as a guaranty against dictatorship it became a binding custom that no president should serve for more than eight years.

**The Presidency of George Washington**

Here, then, as a result of the American Revolution, was a nation breaking with many political traditions of the past and exemplifying to the modern world that it could endure and prosper on hitherto untried experiments. The United States was the first nation of large extent and fairly large population to establish an enduring republic, to abolish monarchy utterly, and to ban titled aristocracy. It was the first nation to effect a federalism which would happily conserve a liberal degree of local autonomy while conferring real strength and power on the central government. It was the first nation to adopt and acquiesce in a written constitution

**Novel Experiments of the United States**



for its basic and permanent law. It was the first nation formally to treat religion as a purely personal matter, to entertain the idea that the state should not establish any particular religion, and to achieve an equitable and lasting separation of church and state.<sup>1</sup>

It was impossible that these experiments in America by people of European descent should not make a profound impression on Europe. They were curious and interesting in themselves. They attracted special attention by reason of the direct participation of several European powers in the protracted War of American Independence. And they were based on ideas which had already been advanced by various European philosophers and which were therefore familiar to the more serious-minded reading public of Europe.<sup>2</sup>

In Great Britain itself the American Revolution had significant repercussions. Some British statesmen, as we have seen, had urged a policy of conciliation rather than of coercion in respect of America, and a considerable number of Britishers had felt all along that the American colonists were contending for principles which were at least implicit in the British revolutions of the preceding century. Thomas Paine was an Englishman, and he and other radical Britishers were quite convinced that the new American experiments were much more in accord with the political doctrines of such great English philosophers as Locke and Milton than was the existing British government, with its unrepresentative parliament, its privileged aristocracy, and its selfish restrictions on religion, trade, and outlying possessions. And the failure of the existing British government to put down the American Revolution, while it temporarily increased the enmity or scorn of many Englishmen for the United States and its experiments, provided ample opportunity for disgruntled politicians and popular leaders in Britain to assail the government and to demand changes in its personnel and policies.

<sup>1</sup> This so far as the federal government was concerned. Some of the individual states in the American Union retained an established church for some time after 1791. Connecticut, for example, maintained Congregational Protestantism as its established religion until 1818. Some of the states, too, imposed on Catholics, Jews, Unitarians, or such radical sects as that of the Quakers, restrictions which were only gradually removed.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 538-543.

As a result of attacks in parliament and growing unpopularity in the country, George III was obliged in 1782 to part with the Tory cabinet of Lord North and to choose ministers who were more willing to make some concession to popular demands for reform.

Several reforms were promptly effected within the British Empire. The Irish parliament was accorded an almost independent position in 1782, and in 1793 the right to vote for members of it (though not the right to sit in it) was extended to Catholic Irishmen on the same footing as to Protestant Irishmen. Seven years later, the Irish parliament was fused with the British parliament on terms similar to those on which a century earlier the English and Scottish parliaments had been fused.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter, for more than a hundred years, Great Britain was officially known as the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," and Irishmen were represented, along with Englishmen and Scots, in the parliament at Westminster.

**Irish Parliamentary Developments**

Meanwhile, in 1784, the British parliament created a "board of control" to supervise the government of India and to see that the East India Company did not abuse its privileges.<sup>2</sup> Also in 1784, the colony of New Brunswick was set off from Nova Scotia<sup>3</sup> and granted a representative assembly. And in 1791 the Quebec Act of 1774 was amended by dividing the remaining province of Quebec into the two colonies of Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec) and by providing in each for the sharing of government between a royal governor and an elected assembly.

**Political Changes Elsewhere in the British Empire**

Within Great Britain the outstanding demand was for parliamentary reform. It was perceived, even by radical Britishers, that popular sovereignty and what amounted to republicanism could be secured in Britain without laying violent hands on the king. The king was already severely limited by the cabinet, and

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 711-712.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 416, note.

<sup>3</sup> Prince Edward Island had already been detached from Nova Scotia (1769) and erected into a separate colony. The setting off of New Brunswick was a result of a very large influx of American "loyalists" from the revolting British colonies to the south. Probably 40,000 "loyalists" settled permanently in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, and a large but indeterminate number found refuge in what later was called Ontario.

the cabinet was controlled by the majority in parliament. But the parliament, as we have seen, was essentially an aristocratic oligarchy indulging in the most unclean bribery. It pretended to represent the nation. Why not purify it and make it really representative of the nation? Such action would but complete the British revolutions of the seventeenth century and bring British government into harmony with the best of the new principles exemplified by the American Revolution.

**Demand  
for Par-  
liamentary  
Reform in  
Great  
Britain**

It was naturally among the Whigs that advocates of parliamentary reform appeared. They had been outdone at bribery by George III and his Tory friends; they would seek to reëstablish their influence and parliament's by championing reform. Of these Whigs, Charles James Fox (1749-1806) was at first the most prominent. Fox, the younger son of a nobleman, had been taught to gamble by his father and took to it readily. Cards and horse-racing kept him in chronic bankruptcy; many of his nights were spent in debauchery and his mornings in bed; and his close association with the rakish heir to the throne was the scandal of London. In spite of his eloquence and ability, the loose manner of his life militated against the success of Fox as a reformer. His friends knew him to be a free-hearted, impulsive sympathizer with all who were oppressed, and they entertained no doubt of his sincere wish to bring about parliamentary reform, complete religious toleration, and the abolition of the slave-trade. But strangers could not easily reconcile his private life with his public words, and were antagonized by his frequent lack of political tact.

**Charles  
James  
Fox**

Despite drawbacks Fox furthered the popular cause, not only by denouncing reactionary officials and policies, but also by espousing an advanced programme of parliamentary reform. This programme was to be the objective of political "radicals" in Great Britain for several generations. It comprised six demands: (1) votes for all adult males, (2) each district to have representation proportionate to its population, (3) payment of the members of parliament so as to enable poor men to accept election, (4) abolition of property qualifications for members of parliament, (5) adoption of the secret ballot, and (6) parliaments to be elected annually.

Such reform seemed less likely of accomplishment by Fox than

by a younger statesman, William Pitt (1759-1806), second son of the famous earl of Chatham. When but seven years old, Pitt had said: "I want to speak in the House of Commons like papa." Throughout his boyhood and youth he had kept this ambition constantly before him; he had studied the classics, practiced oratory, and learned the arts of debate. At the age of twenty-one, he was a tall, slender, and sickly youth, with sonorous voice, devouring ambition, and sublime self-confidence. He secured a seat in the Commons from one of the "rotten boroughs," and speedily won the respect of the House. He was the youngest and most promising of the politicians of the day. At the outset he was a Whig.

William  
Pitt, the  
Younger

By a combination of circumstances young Pitt was enabled to form an essentially new political party—the "New Tories." By his scrupulous and well-advertised honesty and especially by his earnest advocacy of parliamentary reform, he won to his side the unrepresented middle class and the opponents of corruption. On the other hand, by accepting from King George III an appointment as chief minister, and holding the position in spite of a temporarily hostile majority in the House of Commons, Pitt won the respect of the Tory country squires and the clergy, who stood for the king against the Whigs. And finally, being quite moral himself (if chronic indulgence in port wine be excepted), and supporting a notoriously virtuous king against corrupt politicians and against the gambling Fox, Pitt became an idol of all lovers of "respectability."

The "New  
Tories"

In the parliamentary elections of 1784 Pitt won a great victory. In that year he was prime minister with loyal majorities in both houses of parliament, with royal favor, and with the support of popular enthusiasm. He was feasted in Grocers' Hall in London; the shopkeepers of the Strand illuminated their dwellings in his honor; and crowds cheered his carriage.

Reform seemed to be within sight. The horrors of the slave-trade were mitigated, and greater freedom was given the press. Bills were introduced to abolish the representation of "rotten" boroughs and to grant representation to the newer towns.

Before parliamentary reform could be effected in Great Britain, however, events occurred which transferred the centre of revolutionary interest from Britain to France and transformed English statesmen and parliamentarians from mild reformers into rabid defenders of the *status quo* in state, church, and society.<sup>1</sup> In 1789 popular representatives of the French nation not only disobeyed their king but confiscated the property of the church and abrogated the privileges of the upper classes.

It is, indeed, a cardinal point in modern history that France, which had been for two centuries, under the Bourbons, the leading exponent of divine-right monarchy and social inequality, should now suddenly veer about and within four years produce a political and social revolution more fundamental in character and more far-reaching in results than any or all of the British revolutions which we have sketched in this chapter.

That this was so, was due in some part to the influence of the American Revolution. France had actively aided the rebellion of the thirteen British colonies, doubtless for selfish reasons so far as her officialdom was concerned, but with mounting altruistic sympathy on the part of many of her people. The numerous young Frenchmen, some of them of noble family, who, like Lafayette, had sought romantic adventure in fighting beside Washington in the New World, returned home with equally romantic tales of the strength of republican virtue and the beauty of democratic simplicity. The truth of such tales seemed to be confirmed, moreover, by the demeanor of Benjamin Franklin, who was long the envoy of the United States at the French court and who was immensely popular with the French people. No wonder that Frenchmen who longed for liberty followed American developments with interest and studied with care the declaration of independence and the constitution of the United States.

The French Revolution was due also, and in far greater part, to a many-sided intellectual revolution which, almost imperceptibly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had been diverting the minds of thoughtful Europeans, especially thoughtful Frenchmen, from what was old to what was new. There was now a cult of the novel, and a really burning faith that the millennium

<sup>1</sup> For the change in Pitt's attitude. see below, pp. 710-712.

might be achieved in this world in the very near future. At least to the political side of this intellectual revolution, the British revolutions of the seventeenth century, as well as the American revolution of the eighteenth century, had made prime contributions. We must explain in some detail what we mean by the "intellectual revolution"



## CHAPTER XI

### THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION



ZEALOUS revolutionaries in Britain and in British colonies effected during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as we have just seen, startling changes in political institutions and usages. But quite as zealous revolutionaries throughout Europe brought about, during those same centuries, even more startling changes in the attitude of intellectuals toward science, religion, and art. These changes we term, for lack of a better phrase, the Intellectual Revolution.

The Intellectual Revolution, concerning what men thought more than what men did, is far more difficult to describe and evaluate than are the political revolutions of British Puritans and American Patriots. It lacked precise dates and such dramatic episodes as a royal beheading, a declaration of national independence, or a military victory. It was not confined to one realm of thought, such as politics (though in a sense the thought in back of the British political revolutions was part of the Intellectual Revolution), or to one country, such as Britain (though Britain played an important rôle in the Intellectual Revolution). It was broad and involved. In origin it was broadly European, rather than narrowly British. In effect it sooner or later involved the whole world.

There can be no doubt, however, of the high significance of the Intellectual Revolution of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Reaching its climax in the "Enlightenment"—a movement more epochal than "Renaissance" or "Reformation"—it gave to natural science its modern vogue, it originated modern social science, it put forth a new metaphysics of natural law and human progress, it emphasized a new humanitarianism, it profoundly affected religion, and in art it at once plucked many fair fruits of classicism and planted the fertile seeds of romanticism.

## I. PROGRESS OF NATURAL SCIENCE

Very real progress was made during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in knowledge of the natural universe. The outlines of this progress we shall presently indicate, but at the outset it should be borne in mind that the progress was not in itself revolutionary. It was primarily the testing and detailing of theories already advanced by such scientists of the preceding era as Copernicus, Galileo, and Harvey.<sup>1</sup> The really revolutionary aspect of natural science in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was less its content than its extension and popularization. Natural science, hitherto the avocation of relatively few intellectuals, now became the vocation of numerous curious persons; it was more rigorously separated from magical arts and superstitious practices; and large numbers of the upper and middle classes became "science-conscious." Kings and princes patronized natural science; most intellectuals or would-be intellectuals toyed with natural science. Natural science displaced theology (and even classical studies) as the centre of intellectual inquiry and interest.

The growing interest in natural science was both reflected and promoted by the rise of a new institution, the "scientific academy." At Rome, in 1603, a group of scientists and persons interested in science had founded the so-called **Scientific Academies** Academy of Lynxes, and similar scientific academies were established in the seventeenth century in other urban centres, notably in Italy and Germany. In 1662 the English "Royal Society" was chartered by Charles II "to examine all systems, theories, principles, hypotheses, elements, histories, and experiments of things natural, mathematical, and mechanical, invented, recorded, or practiced by any considerable author, ancient or modern." In 1666 an earlier French "Academy of Sciences" was reorganized, through Colbert's influence, by Louis XIV. As offshoots of the English academy, a philosophical society was organized in Massachusetts in 1683 and another at Dublin in 1684. Beginning in 1665, both the English and French academies published scientific periodicals, entitled respectively the *Philosophical Transactions* and the *Journal des Savants*; and before

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 122-131.



long, other scientific journals were emanating from Italy, Germany, Denmark, and other countries.

In addition to the academies, observatories and museums multiplied. The famous astronomical observatory of Tycho Brahe at Uraniborg<sup>1</sup> was surpassed in equipment by the observatories founded at Paris in 1667 and at Greenwich (in England) in 1675. To the establishment of museums an impetus was given by Robert Boyle's discovery, about 1663, that organic substances can be preserved and rendered visible in alcohol. The first great museum was built at Oxford in 1683 to house natural curiosities which a certain Dr. Ashmole had collected and presented to the university.

Natural science was certainly becoming popular. Innumerable persons dabbled in it and most statesmen patronized it. The brother of Louis XIV had a laboratory and amused himself with "curious experiments." Charles II of England sought diversion in a "chymical laboratory." John DeWitt, grand pensionary of Holland, was immensely interested in science; he himself invented chain-shot and wrote ably on statistics. Samuel Pepys, the London gossip and gad-about, obtained enough scientific reputation to be elected president of the Royal Society. And a host of publicists increased their income by writing books on science for the vulgar.

Among the large number of persons who were devoted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the acquisition of "natural knowledge," certain first-rate investigators contributed notably to its advance. One of these was a Frenchman, René Descartes (1596-1650), a younger contemporary of Galileo,<sup>2</sup> a curious combination of sincere practicing Catholic and original daring rationalist, a man who travelled all over Europe, serving as a soldier in the Netherlands, in Bavaria, and in Hungary, living in Holland, dying in Sweden, with a mind as restless as his body. Now interested in mathematics, now in philosophy, presently absorbed in physics and in the proof of man's existence, he held fast throughout his whole career to the faith that science depends not upon the authority of books but upon the observation of facts. "Here are my books," he told a visitor, as he pointed to a basket of rabbits that he was about to dissect.

**Observa-  
tories and  
Museums**

**Popularity  
of Natural  
Science**

**Mathe-  
matics and  
Physics**

**René  
Descartes**

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 124-125.

Descartes's *Discourse on Method* (1637) and *Principles of Philosophy* (1644), in conjunction with the writings of Lord Bacon<sup>1</sup> and the work of Galileo, were the starting point of the intellectual revolution of modern times.

Descartes laid the foundations of modern critical philosophy by distinguishing sharply between soul and body, mind and matter. Mind and soul, to him, were strictly immaterial and independent of the physical universe, but matter and body were reducible to mechanism and susceptible of mathematical and physical analysis. In his work, Descartes was not merely a theorist. By his invention of analytical geometry, the union of geometry and algebra, he provided useful new mathematical methods for physicists, and by his efforts to apply the known principles of terrestrial mechanics to celestial phenomena he stimulated the interest of scientists in the physical and mathematical aspects of astronomy.

Another first-rate physicist of the age was Christian Huygens (1629-1695), a Dutchman. In his twenties he became a European celebrity by his invention of the pendulum-clock, and his ensuing physical researches, described in his *Horologium oscillatorium* of 1673 and dedicated to Louis XIV, added much to Galileo's work in dynamics. Assuming the principle of the conservation of kinetic energy, Huygens advanced the theory of a centre of oscillation and thereby suggested a new method applicable to many mechanical and physical problems. He also determined the relation between the length of a pendulum and its time of vibration, and in his findings on circular motion he anticipated some of the conclusions of Newton. Huygens was always interested in optics: he improved the telescope, constructed an almost perfect achromatic eye-glass, and contended that light travels in waves.

Isaac Newton (1642-1727), born in the year in which Galileo died, was undoubtedly the most illustrious scientist of the age. He profited from what Galileo, Descartes, and Huygens had done, and by his own indefatigable industry and insight he provided a synthesis which was to be widely accepted and to prove basic for physical science during the next two centuries.

Coming from a humble family in a little English village, New-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 133.

Christian  
Huygens

Isaac  
Newton

ton at an early age gave evidence of uncommon intelligence and curiosity. His boyish ingenuity in the construction of windmills, kites, and water-clocks he soon turned to other and more serious ends. At the university of Cambridge he astonished his professors and showed such great skill in mathematics that he was given a professor's chair when he was twenty-seven. Later in life he was knighted by Queen Anne and is known in history, therefore, as Sir Isaac Newton.

As a mathematician, Newton invented the infinitesimal calculus,<sup>1</sup> established the binomial theorem, developed much of the theory of equations, and introduced literal indices. In mathematical physics, he calculated tables by which the future position of the moon among the stars could be predicted—an achievement of the utmost value in navigation. He created hydrodynamics, including the theory of the propagation of waves, and made many improvements in hydrostatics. In optics, he showed by long and careful experimentation that the rainbow is caused by the decomposition of white light, lights of different colors having different refrangibility, the most refrangible being violet and the least refrangible being red, and he foreshadowed the much later doctrine that the structure of light is essentially atomic.

But it was in the realm of mechanics that Newton won his greatest claim to distinction. In a very famous book, the *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, commonly called the *Principia*, he set forth in 1687, with a wealth of mathematical evidence, the "law of gravitation," that "every particle of matter in the universe attracts every other particle with a force varying inversely as the square of the distance between them and directly proportional to the product of their masses." Here was a sensational and revolutionary explanation not only of how apples fall to the ground but of how the earth and other planets are held in their orbits about the sun. It was an explanation at once universal and simple, and at the same time highly useful. Lagrange, the foremost mathematician of the eighteenth century, described the *Principia* as the greatest production of the human mind, and Newton as the greatest genius that had ever lived and likewise the most fortunate, "for there is but one

<sup>1</sup> The calculus was invented simultaneously and independently by the German philosopher and mathematician Leibnitz (1646-1716).

universe, and to be the interpreter of its laws can happen to but one man in the world's history."

Newton's "law of gravitation" certainly served to establish the Copernican system of astronomy on a firm basis,<sup>1</sup> and thenceforth the advance of astronomical science was rapid. Three English astronomers were particularly important. Edmund Halley (1656-1742), a close friend of Newton, charted a large number of fixed stars, especially in the southern hemisphere, and by calculating the orbit of a comet which he observed in 1682 he predicted its return in 1759—a prediction which was verified to the intense satisfaction of the ensuing generation. James Bradley (1693-1762), an Anglican clergyman and professor of astronomy at Oxford, discovered the aberration of light in 1729 and the nutation of the earth's axis in 1748. William Herschel (1738-1822), a musician by profession,<sup>2</sup> a self-taught mathematician, a most assiduous observer of the heavens, and a perfecter of the telescope, detected spots on the sun, mountains on the moon, and polar snow on Mars; and in 1781 discovered the planet Uranus. Herschel was made royal astronomer to King George III in 1782, and in the following year published a work, *Motion of the Solar System in Space*, which was hailed as the climax of Newton's *Principia*.

A number of useful inventions attended and aided the development of physical science. Optical instruments such as the telescope and microscope were constantly being improved. Torricelli (1608-1647), an Italian, discovered the principle of the barometer in 1643. Otto von Guericke (1602-1686), a German, invented the air-pump in 1650. Fahrenheit (1686-1736), a German who lived mainly in England and Holland, perfected the mercury thermometer and invented the system of reckoning temperature which is still in use in English-speaking countries. Some experimentation was carried on with electricity and magnetism, and in 1746 two professors of the university of Leyden

<sup>1</sup> John Milton was the last important celebrity to entertain serious doubt of the truth of the astronomy of Copernicus and Galileo.

<sup>2</sup> William Herschel was not an Englishman by birth. He was born in Hanover, the son of a musician in the Hanoverian Guard of George II, and it was as a military bandsman himself that he came to England in 1755. He was organist at Bath when he began his researches in astronomy. In his last years he was knighted, and he left a son, Sir John Herschel, who was one of the most celebrated scientists of the nineteenth century.

invented the so-called Leyden jar for the storage and sudden discharge of electric energy. It was from experiments with the Leyden jar that Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) identified thunderbolts with electricity and was led to invent the lightning-rod.

If Newton was the father of modern physics, the father of modern chemistry was Robert Boyle (1627-1691). Boyle, a son of an Irish nobleman, achieved special fame by discovering in 1660 the "law" that the volume of gas varies inversely with the pressure, but he did many other things for the advancement of chemical science. He distinguished a mixture from a compound; he prepared phosphorus and collected hydrogen in a vessel over water; he manufactured wood alcohol; he studied the form of crystals as a guide to chemical structure; and, most important, in his book *The Sceptical Chymist, or Chymico-Physical Doubts and Paradoxes* (1661) he protested vigorously against the traditional union of chemistry with alchemy or medicine and at the same time advanced the modern idea of chemical "elements" and even foreshadowed the atomic theory.

Despite the work of Boyle, the development of chemistry was retarded by the prevalence of misunderstanding of the phenomena of flame and combustion. When an article is burned, something seems to escape. This something, for long identified with sulphur, was imagined to be a peculiar principle of fire and early in the eighteenth century was named "phlogiston" by a German physician to the king of Prussia. The phlogiston theory dominated most chemical thought and experiment during the century.

Gradually, however, a truer and more fruitful theory was evolved. The beginning of the change appears in the work of Joseph Black, a Scot, who, about 1755, discovered that a certain gas, distinct from atmospheric air, was combined in the alkalis. This gas he named "fixed air"; it was what we nowadays call carbon dioxide or carbonic acid. About ten years later, Henry

Black, Priestley, and Cavendish (1731-1810), son of an English nobleman and one of the richest men of his time, reported his discovery of "inflammable air," or hydrogen. Then in 1774 Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), an English Unitarian clergyman, discovered still another gas and showed both that it supported combustion and that it was needful for the

respiration of animals; this gas the French chemist Lavoisier (1743-1794) named oxygen. Whereupon Cavendish demonstrated that air was a compound of oxygen and nitrogen and that water was composed of oxygen and hydrogen. Finally, Lavoisier, the greatest chemist of the age, repeated the experiments and systematized the results of Black, Priestley, and Cavendish. He disposed utterly of the phlogiston theory. He also showed that, although matter may alter its state in a series of chemical actions, its quantity remains the same. This "quantitative analysis" meant that the principles which had been established by Newton in physics could be carried over into chemistry. It paved the way for a tremendous development of chemistry during the next century.<sup>1</sup>

In mineralogy there was steady progress from the sixteenth century, and early in the eighteenth century fossils, which had long been noted and discussed, were described and classified with some fulness. But the father of modern geology, as distinct from mineralogy, was an eighteenth-century product—James Hutton (1726-1797), a Scot who was in turn lawyer, physician, scientific farmer, and student of rocks. Hutton conceived larger ideas than were entertained by the mineralogists of his day. He studied the nature and formation of various minerals and rocks with a view to grasping their origin and thus understanding the history of the earth. In 1785 he communicated a summary of his observations and theories to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in a paper entitled *Theory of the Earth, or an Investigation of the Laws Observable in the Composition, Dissolution and Restoration of Land upon the Globe*. In this remarkable work, it was maintained that past changes in the earth's crust could be explained by those which could still be seen in process, and that the changes of almost countless centuries was evidenced in contemporary geological formations. Thus, according to Hutton, the earth was not a comparatively recent creation, as was commonly inferred from the Biblical account, but the outcome of a long and gradual evolution. It was a really revolutionary doctrine, but it was

<sup>1</sup> In the meantime, while the phlogiston theory was being undermined by Lavoisier, a Swedish chemist, Scheele (1742-1786), was laying the foundation for nineteenth-century photography. Scheele discovered the element chlorine and was the first to prepare glycerine.

phrased in a somewhat heavy and obscure style and did not attract much attention until the nineteenth century.

There was marked development of the biological and medical sciences during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In **Medicine and Biology** medicine, considerable progress followed Harvey's significant work at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Malpighi (1628-1694), a modest and industrious professor at the university of Bologna, learned much from vivisection and the microscope and confirmed Harvey's theory of the blood by actually observing capillary circulation. Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689), an eminent practitioner of London, propounded the theory that disease, and especially fever, is nature's effort to expel morbid material from the system. Morgagni (1682-1771), a brilliant Italian physician and professor, summed up his post-mortem autopsies in a work on morbid anatomy so illuminating as to win for him the title of father of pathology. Albrecht von Haller (1707-1777), Swiss anatomist and romantic poet and philosopher, earned fame as the leading physiologist of the age. Bichat (1771-1802), a very able French physician, studied tissues and founded the science of histology.

Biological science developed apace. Malpighi, famous in medicine, was one of the first, in his *Anatomy of Plants* (1671), to describe the sexuality of plants and to compare the function of vegetable leaves with that of animal lungs. Robert Hooke (1635-1703), son of an Anglican clergyman, discovered the cellular structure of plants and invented the name "cell." Anthony van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723), a Dutch manufacturer of microscopes, discovered protozoa and bacteria and was the first to describe the human spermatozoon. Jan Swammerdam (1637-1680), son of a druggist at Amsterdam, wrote in 1685 a *General History of Insects*, which was later enlarged and republished after his death as *The Bible of Nature* (1737); he traced the metamorphosis from caterpillar or maggot to pupa and from pupa to the perfect form, and he compared the change of tadpole into frog with change in the human foetus.

<sup>1</sup> On Harvey, see above, p. 130.

In 1660 John Ray (1627-1705), son of an English blacksmith and himself an Anglican clergyman and university preacher, published the first of a series of works on systematic botany, which led to a great improvement in classification and also to progress in morphology. Subsequently Ray turned his attention to animals and made use of comparative anatomy. Here again his work marked an advance towards a natural classification of quadrupeds, birds, and insects.

Botany

The most famous classifier of existing botanical knowledge, however, was a Swede, Carl von Linné (1707-1778), usually cited by his Latinized name of Linnæus. The classification of Linnæus, based on the sex organs of plants, was widely accepted and for long supplanted Ray's. It is interesting to note that Linnæus, during his wanderings among the Laplanders in search for arctic plants, was struck by the obvious differences between human races and that in his *System of Nature* he placed man with apes, lemurs, and bats in the order of "primates," and subdivided man into four groups according to color and other characteristics.

Linnæus

A corresponding development in the knowledge of animals was stimulated by the accounts of numerous overseas travellers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and by the collection of rare and strange beasts in various royal menageries in Europe. The summation of this knowledge was achieved by the celebrated French zoologist Buffon (1707-1788) in his encyclopedic *Natural History of Animals*. Buffon, in treating of all animal life, could not close his eyes to striking zoological resemblances between man and the lower animals, and he ventured the remark, which he afterwards withdrew, that, were it not for the express statements of the Bible, one might be tempted to seek a common origin for the horse and the ass, the monkey and the man.

Zoölogy

Buffon

Buffon in zoölogy, Linnæus in botany, Haller in physiology, Hutton in geology, Lavoisier and Boyle in chemistry, and Newton in mathematics and physics—these were the high lights in the development of natural science during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. No wonder that "science" was obsessing the minds of a multitude of lesser men.



## 2. THE NEW METAPHYSICS—THE “ENLIGHTENMENT”

“Science,” in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, involved not merely an increase of detailed knowledge about the physical universe, a multiplying of laboratory experiments, a closer and wider observation of the heavens, the rocks, the insects, the birds, and the beasts. It involved also a great access of speculation about the nature of being, of first causes and of God—about that branch of philosophy which since Aristotle’s time had been called metaphysics—speculation about what is beyond or above the physical.

Throughout the Christian era, prior to the seventeenth century, metaphysics had been allied with theology, and factual findings of scientists had pretty generally been related to the accepted metaphysics of Christian revelation. From the seventeenth century, however, metaphysics became allied with natural science, and the new physical knowledge was increasingly identified with a philosophy which, in its questioning of any supernatural revelation, was non-Christian if not anti-Christian. If in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries natural science itself underwent a development rather than a revolution, it was accompanied by a philosophy, a metaphysics, which was amply revolutionary.

To the new metaphysics, outstanding contributions were made by several philosophers who were intensely interested in natural science. Reference has already been made to two sixteenth-century heralds of the new movement: Lord Bacon (1561–1626) and Giordano Bruno (1548–1600).<sup>1</sup> The most influential philosopher during the seventeenth century was René Descartes (1596–1650), whose scientific interests and achievements have been indicated above.<sup>2</sup> Descartes was the real founder of modern critical philosophy. He showed how much unverified assumption lay beneath the earlier scholastic philosophy and he endeavored to substitute for it a philosophy which should be based entirely on human consciousness and experience and should range from the direct mental apprehension of God to observation and experiment in the physical world. He regarded mathematics as the “queen of the sciences” and its methods as

**Substitution of Natural Science for Theology as Basis of Metaphysics**

**Descartes**

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 132–134.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 498–499.

applicable to the others. He formulated a complete dualism, a sharp distinction between soul and body, mind and matter. Soul and mind (and God) are true, said Descartes, for "whatever I am clearly and distinctly conscious of is true," but they are fundamentally different from the phenomena of nature which are material and susceptible of direct observation. As an Anglican bishop remarked a century later: "The Cartesian [system, that is, the philosophy of Descartes] attempts to explain all the phenomena of nature by matter and motion; requiring only that God should first create a sufficient quantity of each, just enough to set Him at work, and then pretends to do the business without his further aid." Descartes was himself a professing Catholic Christian, but his philosophic system, while affirming the existence of God and the human soul, left no room for the interposition of the supernatural in the natural.

A contemporary with Descartes was Pierre Gassendi (1592-1650), a Franciscan teacher of mathematics at various French universities and a man more concerned with the "laws" of natural science than with theology. While maintaining that Catholic dogmas were true "in a higher sphere," Gassendi gave a purely naturalist interpretation to the physical universe and to bodily man. Knowledge, he said, is obtained solely from the senses, and matter, which is all-important to the senses, is atomic, uncreated, and indestructible.

Pierre  
Gassendi

One of the most original philosophers of the seventeenth century was the Englishman Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). Born in the year of the Spanish Armada, educated at Oxford, and travelling much on the Continent, he knew Galileo and Gassendi and read Montaigne and Descartes and he lived on to a vigorous and very pugnacious old age. An ardent royalist in politics, he took the side of Charles I in the Puritan Revolution and is most enduringly known as the author of the *Leviathan* (1651) and other writings in support of monarchical absolutism. But Hobbes liked to think of himself as the greatest mathematician of the age and he waxed especially indignant at others' doubts as to his success in squaring the circle. In all his writings he was severely logical and mathematical and provocatively cocksure. In philosophy, he was a thoroughgoing materialist; all nature, to him, was but a machine. And he was more radical—or more consistent—than Descartes. He admitted

Thomas  
Hobbes

of no dualism, but insisted that in the human mind and soul, as in the physical universe, there are only matter and motion. He was one of the first to apply materialism to psychology.

Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), a Jewish lens-grinder of Amsterdam and a very gentle soul, was as confident as Descartes of the power of human reason, and as sceptical as Hobbes of Descartes's dualism. Spinoza, however, did not follow Hobbes in reducing everything to matter. Rather, he advanced the notion that everything is both body and spirit; body and spirit are the same phenomena considered under different attributes of space and thought. Substance and ideas, nature and God, are identical: this was the essence of Spinoza's philosophy of pantheism, and to it was attached the corollary that free will is an illusion of consciousness. Orthodox Jews were scandalized by Spinoza; they repudiated and persecuted him; but he enjoyed the favor and patronage of John DeWitt, the grand pensionary of Holland.

Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716), a German publicist and librarian and an important figure in the development of higher mathematics, was of a peculiarly conciliatory turn of mind and was ever endeavoring to effect compromises. He labored long to compose the differences between Catholics and Protestants. He labored longer to reconcile Christianity with the newer developments in natural science. In the latter rôle, he put great stress on "pure reason" and urged that by means of it man could transcend the finite, material universe. He also revived the ancient atomic theory somewhat as Spinoza had revived Greek pantheism, but in place of physical atoms he introduced the conception of spiritual atoms (which he called "monads") as the constituent elements of the universe. Thereby, instead of materializing the soul, as Hobbes had done, Leibnitz spiritualized matter.

Contemporary with Leibnitz (and Newton) was the Englishman John Locke (1632-1704), who was trained as a physician but is famous as a political philosopher and as a psychologist. Leaving Locke's political philosophy for later discussion, we may here indicate the metaphysical implications of his psychology, using the words of a distinguished historian of the present day: "Locke originated modern

introspective psychology. Others had looked inward, but, one and all, they had dogmatized after only a hasty glance. Locke quietly and steadily watched the operations of his own mind, just as he watched the symptoms of his patients. He came to the conclusion that knowledge is the discernment of agreement or disagreement, either of our thoughts among themselves or between our thoughts and the external phenomena independent of them. A man is sure that he himself exists, and as he had a beginning there must, to account for it, be a First Cause, which is God the Supreme Reason. But relations between our thoughts and external things can only be established by indication from particular instances. Thus knowledge of nature can be only an affair of probability, liable to be upset by the discovery of new facts."<sup>1</sup> Locke, like Newton and Leibnitz, was a professing Protestant Christian, but in his work on the *Reasonableness of Christianity* he essayed to divorce religion from the miraculous and the unknown and to base it on human experience and reason.

As the eighteenth century advanced, the new metaphysics became more and more dogmatically sceptical. George Berkeley (1684-1753), a famous Anglican bishop in Ireland and a sojourner in America, accepting the physical science of Newton as true and as governing the world, asked in effect, "What is the world of which it is true?" and pointed out that the only answer is that it is the world revealed by the senses, and it is only the senses which make it real. In a word, Bishop Berkeley held that reality exists in the realm of thought alone; outside of men's minds there is no material universe.

**Bishop  
Berkeley**

Then David Hume (1711-1776), a Scottish student of history and economics as well as of natural philosophy, proceeded to turn Berkeley's arguments around and to deny the reality of mind. To Hume, all that is real is a succession of "impressions and ideas." "Thought is merely a practical instrument for the convenient interpretation of our human experience; it has no objective or metaphysical validity of any kind." Consequently, according to Hume, it is impossible

**David  
Hume**

<sup>1</sup> W. C. D. Dampier-Whetham, *A History of Science and Its Relations with Philosophy and Religion* (1931), p. 207. Locke's psychology is set forth mainly in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690).

to establish the reasonableness of God or religion, and the proper sphere of human thought is merely human experience.

Finally, there was Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Kant, the grandson of a Scottish immigrant in Prussia, was born at Königsberg, was educated there, was professor of philosophy there, and died there, never having travelled during his eighty years more than forty miles from Königsberg. He was always interested in natural science; he was a physicist of no little competence; and he wrote on such various topics as the causes of earthquakes, the different races of man, volcanoes in the moon, and physical geography. But it was as philosopher and moralist that Kant won lasting fame. Largely devoid of sentiment and humor, he was exceedingly conscientious and systematic, truthful, kind-hearted, and high-minded; and he ardently wished everyone to be as good as he was. But how to base moral duty on the metaphysics of natural science rather than on the metaphysics of revealed religion, that was the problem with which Kant grappled in a profusion of abstruse philosophical writings. His solution of the problem was idealism—the doctrine that while we cannot know that God exists, our moral sense requires us to recognize the transcendental existence of God and likewise the freedom of the will and the immortality of the soul. If the conception of natural science in Hume's mind had meant truth without God, in Kant's mind it meant God without truth. Kant's idealism closed the eighteenth century and ushered in the nineteenth.<sup>1</sup>

We have here touched on only a few first-rate philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Descartes, Gas-sendi, Hobbes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, and Kant. They differed, as we have seen, about details, but all of them—and the numerous other philosophers of the age whom we have not mentioned by name—were under the spell of contemporaneous development of the physical sciences. Indeed, all scientists of the time were inclined to be philosophical, and all philosophers to be “scientific.” Hence, the philosophers ignored, if they did not attack, the theological bent of their scholastic predecessors; they would have resented being called “metaphysical.” Yet they were metaphysical, in the sense that they were immensely interested in deriving “higher truths” from

<sup>1</sup> On subsequent developments of Kantian “idealism,” see below, pp. 739-740.

their knowledge of the material universe, and they showed in their "systems" that modern natural science can be as meta-physical as medieval Christian theology.

What the philosophers (and scientists) of the age thought themselves to be was "enlightened." There can be no doubt that they were enlightened, far more than the scholars of any earlier age, about the operations of nature, and that consequently they tended to be sceptical of previous explanations of natural phenomena. But as "enlightened" men they had to have their own explanations, and these explanations, though they may seem a bit too simple to us in the twentieth century, were part and parcel of the "enlightenment" of the eighteenth century

**The New  
"Enlightenment"**

It was not only first-rate philosophers and scientists who became "enlightened" in the twofold sense of knowing more about the physical universe and making novel generalizations concerning it. By the eighteenth century most intellectuals and would-be intellectuals were "enlightened." Many aristocrats and gentlemen farmers, many bankers and business men, many writers and publicists, many professors, preachers, and priests prided themselves on being "enlightened." Even the divine-right monarchs, the despots of the age, were becoming "enlightened."<sup>1</sup>

The roots of the new "enlightenment" lay in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but its greatest spread and most obvious fruitage were so characteristic of the eighteenth century that it is this century which is known as the age of the "enlightenment." To the majority of eighteenth-century thinkers, the development of natural science was associated with a new metaphysics which, as interpreted to common folks, involved four major concepts. (1) It involved the substitution of the natural for the supernatural, of science for theology, and the assumption that the whole universe of matter and mind is guided and controlled by ineluctable *natural law*. (2) It exalted and almost deified *human reason*, which could and, according to the rational moral sense, should be utilized by the individual to discover the laws of nature and to enable him to conform his life to them. (3) Assuming that man would use his reason and obey the natural law,

**Eighteenth-Century Concepts of "Enlightenment"**

<sup>1</sup> On "enlightened" despotism, see above, pp. 346-356.

it promised the speedy *progress* and ultimate *perfectibility* of the human race. (4) It included a tender regard for the natural rights of the individual and a predilection for the social blessings of an enlightened *humanitarianism*.

In the light of these metaphysical concepts, a good deal of criticism was indulged in, much of it destructive and some of it constructive. Institutions and practices which through age had acquired any degree of popular veneration in the domains of religion, politics, and society were ruthlessly dissected by the "enlightened" in order to discover if they were rational, if they were in harmony with natural law, if they promoted human progress, guaranteed individual rights, and conferred immediate benefits on the world. It was this acutely critical spirit which somewhat paradoxically combined with a lively faith in the new metaphysical concepts to produce the most notable features of the Intellectual Revolution.

### 3. PIETISM AND DEISM

Religion was particularly affected by the development of science and the rise of the new metaphysics. The effects were far more apparent, however, in the eighteenth century—in the Age of Enlightenment—than in the seventeenth century.

In the seventeenth century scientists and philosophers still professed some definite form of Christianity, and all Europe seemed to be as traditionally and fanatically Christian as it had been in the sixteenth century. Protestants and Catholics continued their mutual denunciations and persecutions.<sup>1</sup> Protestants continued to quarrel among themselves and to subdivide into dogmatic sects. Catholics redoubled their missionary efforts overseas, and various Protestant sects, with similar zeal, began to undertake "foreign missions."

In the second half of the seventeenth century, a new religious tendency appeared within Christendom, especially within Protestant Christendom. It was probably less the effect of the scientific spirit than the outcome of a growing popular distaste for inter-Christian warfare and for theological subtleties which, it was believed, produced such warfare. If Christians would but cease to argue about dogmas and

Rise of  
Pietism

<sup>1</sup> It was in the seventeenth century, we may recall, that the Thirty Years' War was waged, in part over religion, between Protestants and Catholics in Germany;

content themselves with pious feelings and with earnest efforts to lead Christ-like lives, they would realize the true inwardness of Christianity and would behave more seemly before the world. This was the essence of the new tendency which now appeared and which is known as pietism.<sup>1</sup>

A prominent apostle of pietism was the German Lutheran pastor, Philip Spener (1635-1705), who published in 1675 a book entitled *Heartfelt Longings for a Reform of the True Evangelical Church which will be pleasing to God*. Spener urged his fellow Lutherans to abandon debatable dogmas and fiery polemics and to become practical mystics. He minimized the importance of a visible church and insisted that religion should be highly individual, an indwelling of the Holy Ghost in each believer, a vital force moving the emotions and making for personal piety and holiness. Spener's ideas were espoused by a considerable number of Lutherans—and Calvinists too—during the ensuing generation, and throughout the eighteenth century pietism had able champions and numerous disciples on the Continent of Europe, especially in Germany. Leibnitz was something of a pietist; it was in the spirit of pietism that he sought to effect a rapprochement not only among Protestants but also between Protestants and Catholics. Kant was reared in pietist surroundings and was notably affected by pietism; he could not think that his failure to prove the reality of God militated against the reality of his inner consciousness or of his moral duties.

Philip  
Spener  
and the  
German  
Pietists

One of the noteworthy pietists of the Continent was Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), the gifted son of a professor of Lutheran theology at the Swedish university of Upsala. Having acquired an international reputation as an able scientist—mathematician, physicist, geologist, and engineer,—Swedenborg received in 1745 a "divine revelation" and devoted himself thenceforth to the writing of that the Puritan Revolution, with its intolerances, occurred in Great Britain; that the British Parliament enacted the most drastic penal laws against Catholics; and that Louis XIV revoked the edict of Nantes which, a century before, had accorded qualified toleration to French Protestants.

Sweden-  
borg and  
Mystic  
Pietism

<sup>1</sup> This tendency had been foreshadowed by some of the Radical Protestant sects of the sixteenth century, and, among Calvinists, by the Netherlander Jacob Hermansen (Arminius) and his disciple, Simon Bishop (1583-1643), who questioned Calvin's doctrine of predestination and protested against putting too much emphasis on dogmas. See above, p. 182, note.



a large number of mystical works on "divine love and wisdom" and the "new Jerusalem."<sup>1</sup>

Contemporary with Spener was the Englishman George Fox (1624-1691), the founder of the sect of "Friends"—or Quakers, as they were popularly labelled. Fox possessed no such training or position as Spener or Swedenborg had; he was not an "intellectual"; he was self-taught, self-opinionated, and given to superstition. But he was sincere, earnest, and very much of a pietist. To him existing churches were despicable (he called them "steeple houses"); external observances were silly (he denounced conventional manners as "hat honor"); and war was anathema. In England, in Scotland, in America, he preached his doctrine that Christianity is purely a spirit, a strictly personal experience, an "inner light," independent of state, clergy, and temples, a matter of plain speaking and plain living, of refusing to take oaths or bear arms. The sect which Fox created was long despised, but it counted among its members such a respected aristocrat as William Penn (1644-1718),<sup>2</sup> and its basic pietism, if not its revolutionary attitude toward war and intolerance, was soon influential among Radical Protestants, such as Baptists and Congregationalists, and even among some Anglican Protestants.

At first the Anglican Church did not harbor much pietism. Indeed, throughout the eighteenth century, the established church of England was marked by a coldness and formality, and by an abject dependence upon the state and the landed aristocracy, which seemed utterly at variance with pietism. Yet, as the Anglican Church became more obviously the property of the upper classes and its worship more perfunctory, the opportunity of converting its lower-class adherents to emotional pietism grew greater. The opportunity was seized by John Wesley (1703-1791).

Wesley, the son of an Anglican clergyman, while studying at Oxford University in 1729 became the leader of a small group of fellow students who called themselves the Holy Club and who

<sup>1</sup> After Swedenborg's death, his disciples organized the "Church of the New Jerusalem," which, commonly called the Swedenborgian Church, has subsisted to the present day as a mystically pietist Protestant sect. .

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 306, and below, p. 553.

were nicknamed "Methodists" by reason of their methodical abstinence from frivolous amusements and their methodical cultivation of fervor, piety, and charity. Leaving England a few years later as an Anglican missionary to the Indians in Georgia, Wesley was thrown in close contact with some German Protestant missionaries from whom he learned of Continental pietism, and on his return to England in 1738 he experienced an essentially pietist conversion. "I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death." Wesley was tireless in propaganda. For fifty years he travelled an average of 5,000 miles a year, mainly on horseback, rising at four o'clock every morning, filling every moment with work, living most frugally. He preached some 40,000 sermons, and the number of hymns written by himself and his brother Charles ran into the thousands. By hymns, sermons, and "methodist rules," he was ever exhorting to personal piety. Christianity, to him, was a matter of individual feeling and experience, and anyone was a Christian who "accepted" Christ and gave evidence of living according to Christian principles.

John  
Wesley  
and the  
Methodists

Wesley and all his early associates were Anglicans, and for a time they tried to keep Methodism within the Anglican Church. But their emotionalism, their neglect of ritual, their puritanism, and their appeal to the lower classes served gradually to make a breach between them and the established church. Gradually the followers of Wesley formed an independent body—known as Wesleyans or Methodists—governed by "conferences" of preachers and by bishops (in the Lutheran, rather than the Anglican or Catholic, sense). Methodist churches grew up rapidly in Great Britain, and in 1771 Francis Asbury (1745-1816) crossed the Atlantic and inaugurated in America that itinerant preaching and those "revival meetings" which have made the Methodists the most numerous body of Protestant Christians in the United States.

The example of Wesley, Asbury, and other Methodist leaders had significant pietist effects on most of the non-conformist sects in the English-speaking countries, and the stressing of emotion and piety at the expense of reason and dogma became

increasingly prevalent among Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians. It also had effect on the Anglican Church, for, before the end of the eighteenth century, a large number of Anglican priests and some Anglican bishops were attempting to compete with Methodists in preaching to the lower classes and in emphasizing the "evangelical" character of Christianity. The "evangelical" movement, a type of pietism prominent in Anglican and non-conformist churches in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was accompanied by the rise of "sunday-schools" and missionary enterprise.

**The Evangelical Movement in the Anglican Church**

Somewhat analogous to pietism among Protestants was the movement called quietism which spread in the seventeenth century in Catholic Christendom. Its foremost exponent was Miguel de Molinos (1640-1697), a Spanish priest resident in Rome; and for a time the famous French bishop Fénelon (1651-1715) actively encouraged it. The Quietists taught that while the Catholic Church could start a man on the way to salvation, true holiness depended not upon church or dogma or reason but upon a direct indwelling of God in the individual conscience and a passive acceptance by each believer of whatever befell him. For a time quietism promised to transform Catholicism, as pietism was transforming Protestantism. Bishops and cardinals and even Pope Innocent XI appeared to sympathize with the teachings of Molinos. Eventually, however, the Jesuits, backed by King Louis XIV of France, questioned the orthodoxy of quietism. Molinos was convicted of heresy in 1687 and died in prison. Fénelon was censured by the pope in 1699, and quietism, as a definite movement, died out early in the eighteenth century.

**Molinos and Catholic Quietists**

An even more pietist movement within the Catholic Church was Jansenism, so named from its originator, Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638). Jansen was a Catholic bishop in the Spanish Netherlands who taught that above and beyond the ministrations of the church every Christian, to be saved, must experience a "conversion" and must lead a life of holiness. After the death of Jansen a number of his French disciples possessed themselves of a sort of monastery and convent at Port-Royal in the vicinity of Paris, and from Port-Royal as a centre a famous group of brilliant and pious

**Jansen, Pascal, and the Jansenists**

apostles propagated Jansenism in France and the Netherlands. Blaise Pascal (1623-1662), a celebrated mathematician and physicist, was an eloquent defender of the movement. Here again, however, the Jesuits, backed by King Louis XIV, raised the question of heresy, accusing the Jansenists of adopting Protestant practices and doctrines, including Calvin's principle of predestination.<sup>1</sup> In 1709 Louis XIV broke up the convent and monastery at Port-Royal, and four years later the pope, by a famous document, the bull *Unigenitus*, definitively condemned Jansenism as heretical. Jansenism was thus cut off from the Catholic Church, but it continued to distinguish the sect of "Old Catholics" which under the leadership of the bishop of Utrecht repudiated the papacy and which has survived in the Dutch Netherlands to the present day.

Even in Russia, within the orbit of Orthodox Christendom, something like pietism appeared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The attempt of the patriarch of Moscow in 1654 to revise the liturgy of the Russian Church was followed by the secession of a large number of "Old Ritualists," or "Old Believers," among whom several dissenting sects arose. All of these were hostile to religious "innovations," but as they developed fanatical opposition to the established church, some of them came in time to regard the individual conscience, rather than any ecclesiastical organization, as the supreme authority in religion and the sole guide of spiritual life. For example, in the eighteenth century appeared among dissenting peasants a sect known as the Doukhobors, who, like the English Quakers, stressed the "inner light," deprecated the state, and repudiated military service as un-Christian. The Doukhobors and similar Russian sects were persecuted alike by the tsars and by the Orthodox Church.<sup>2</sup>

At the very time when the preaching of pietism was resounding throughout Protestant Christendom and was echoing in Catholic and Orthodox lands, when Doukhobors and Jansenists and Methodists and Quakers and pietist Lutherans were minimizing dogma and reason and were emphasizing experience and emotion, many intellectuals in Europe were turning from traditional Christianity, whether Catholic or Protestant, in an opposite direction.

**The "Old Believers" in Russia**

**The Doukhobors**

**Pietism Paralleled by Scepticism and Rationalism**

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 364.

For, especially among intellectuals and would-be intellectuals, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were characterized by an unprecedented growth of rationalistic scepticism concerning the fundamentals of "revealed" or "supernatural" religion, particularly of the Christian religion.

To the rise of such scepticism, three factors contributed. One was disgust with the endless squabbles among Christian churches and sects—the same factor which had operated in behalf of the pietist movement. A second, more peculiar to rationalist scepticism, was admiration for what was heard of non-Christian peoples and religions overseas. In the seventeenth century, and to a greater extent in the eighteenth, European intellectuals were signally impressed by reports from travellers, missionaries, and scholars of the naked savages in America who lived in simple piety, virtue, and happiness without priests, bibles, or creeds—without any knowledge of Christianity—and of the highly cultured natives of India and China whose religions were represented as being both more beneficent and more rational than Christianity. It may have been optimistic and a bit uncritical thus to attribute supreme virtue to the "noble savage" and the "Chinese sage," but these more or less hypothetical beings were invoked with telling effect as censorious critics of European faiths and morals. Finally, there can be no doubt that the contemporary development of natural science and especially the rise of the new natural philosophy promoted rationalist scepticism. If the universe was a huge machine, operating in accordance with natural law, what place was left in it for a supernatural religion? Was not religion itself, like physics, simply natural? Could not true religion, like the law of gravitation, be discovered by the human reason, without recourse to "revelation" or "authority"?

The idea of "natural religion" was not new. It had long been held by Christian theologians. The greatest Catholic theologian of the middle ages, St. Thomas Aquinas, had argued, for example, that underlying all revealed religions (Christianity included) is a natural and therefore universal religion in accordance with which rational human beings share fundamental beliefs in God, in immortality, in the moral law, and in future rewards and punishments; Christianity is a revelation, supplementary to, but

not in contradiction with, natural religion. In the seventeenth century, however, with the growing emphasis on nature and natural law, certain radical exponents of natural religion began to inveigh against Christianity. Either Christian doctrines coincide with the rational tenets of natural religion, in which case they are superfluous, or they constitute irrational additions, in which case they are superstitious.

One of the earliest and most remarkable champions of this view was an English nobleman, Baron Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648). Cherbury was educated at Oxford, and through contacts with scientists and philosophers of the age, especially the Frenchman Gassendi, he developed a critical and sceptical bent. At the same time his wealth and social position, his courtliness and poetical gifts, and his devotion to the royal pretensions of James I and Charles I protected him in the free expression of his religious opinions. In two treatises—*On Truth as it is distinguished from Revelation, from Probability, from Possibility, and from Falsehood*, printed in 1624, and *On Religion of the Heathen*, published posthumously in 1663,—Cherbury maintained that religious truth resides in the rational common sense of mankind, that natural religion, consisting of rational belief in God, in virtue, and in immortality, is all that common sense dictates, and that religious “revelations” are inventions of priests.

**Herbert of  
Cherbury**

The scepticism of Cherbury was reënforced by the rise of biblical criticism. Hobbes, the political philosopher and materialist psychologist, not only denied the “inspiration” of the Old Testament but also questioned its historical accuracy; he insisted that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses and that other books were written long after the events which they pretended to narrate. Spinoza, the Jewish philosopher and pantheist, also applied historical criticism to the Old Testament, and, like Hobbes, maintained its late origin and its mythological nature. A French Catholic scholar, Richard Simon by name, published a *Critical History of the Old Testament* in 1680 and a *Critical History of the New Testament* in 1689. Thenceforth there was considerable scepticism among intellectuals as to the sacredness of the Scriptures and as to the truth of the wonders and miracles recorded in them. In 1790 a German scholar, Griesbach, submitted the Gospels of

**Rise of  
Biblical  
Criticism**

Matthew, Mark, and Luke—the “Synoptic Gospels,” he called them—to searching, rationalist criticism; and two years later an English scholar, Evanson, pointed to the theological character of the Fourth Gospel as proof that it could not have been written by the Apostle John.

The new sceptical attitude toward Christianity had its original seat in England, and in England it flourished among statesmen, aristocrats, and even Anglican clergymen in the latter part of the seventeenth century and during the first half of the eighteenth. It was sceptical in respect of the supernatural and miraculous elements in Christianity, but it was remarkably credulous in respect of the natural and rational elements. As a movement it did not look toward the destruction of Christianity, but rather toward a radical reformation—a revolutionized conception—of Christianity. Traditional beliefs in the virgin birth, in the resurrection, in the divinity of Christ, as well as in the divine inspiration of the Bible and the divine authority of the church were to be rejected, but only to strengthen belief in the God of Nature, in natural law and natural morals, and in the authority of human reason. Christianity was to be transformed not into atheism (the creed that there is no God), but into deism (the creed that there is a God—the God of Nature).

Deism, then, was the name which Englishmen gave to this novel interpretation of natural religion. It was accepted by numerous scientists and philosophers of the age as the simplest means of reconciling traditional religion and the latest findings in natural science, and it was applauded by a considerable number of professed Christians as the best means of bringing Christianity into harmony with common sense and modern knowledge. Deism was the religious aspect of the Age of Enlightenment. As expounded by a galaxy of English philosophers and publicists (and clergymen), the faith of deism was simple and reasonable. The deistic God was merely the first cause of natural law, the original giver of reason, natural rights, and the impulse to progress. This God had once, at the very beginning, acted in the grand manner by starting things, but thereafter he was fated to be a helpless supernumerary of the physical universe, veritably enchained by the natural laws which he had decreed for human beings and for the stars, quite incapa-

ble of working miracles or heeding the prayers of puny man, and entitled only to be called creator, preferably with a small c.

Deism spread from England to France, and thence all over the Continent. As it spread, it grew more radical and sceptical and soon came, in its extreme form, to represent a complete break with historic Christianity.

**Spread of  
Deism to  
the Con-  
tinent**

One of the pioneers of this phase of deism—and an intellectual successor of Lord Cherbury—was Pierre Bayle (1647–1706). Bayle, the son of a Huguenot clergyman, was converted to Catholicism, reconverted to Protestantism, and finally became equally doubtful of all religions. Finding the condition of a relapsed heretic a dangerous one in most countries,<sup>1</sup> he settled in the Netherlands, where he secured a professorship of philosophy and history at the university of Rotterdam (1681). Here he showed himself not only a disciple of Descartes's rationalist philosophy but also a most clever advocate of thoroughgoing free thought and religious toleration. His arguments, however, were scarcely more pleasing to Calvinists than to Catholics. For toleration with Bayle meant the right to err and the duty to doubt, not merely the right to believe in a particular form of Christianity and the duty to reciprocate persecution if the opportunity arose. From the beginning his works were attacked by Protestants and burned by Catholics, and in 1693 he lost his university position through Calvinist animosity. But he continued to write, and his masterpiece, the *Critical and Historical Dictionary*, appeared four years later. This *Dictionary* was a landmark in the development of modern religious scepticism. With a great show of scholarship and impartiality, and with insinuating wit, it held up all manner of traditional religious beliefs and dogmas to ridicule, resolving them into myths and fairy tales which had presumably been invented to amuse or terrify children and save parents the trouble of more rational discipline.

**Pierre  
Bayle  
and His  
Dictionary**

Bayle's arguments and methods were appropriated by Voltaire. Indeed, it was Voltaire who especially personified the sceptical and deistic aspects of eighteenth-century thought, and who was as much the literary arbiter of Europe in the Age of Enlightenment as Erasmus had been in the Age of Humanism.

**Voltaire as  
The Phi-  
losopher  
and Deist**

<sup>1</sup> Bayle's brother died a victim of the persecution of Louis XIV.



François Arouet, or, as he styled himself, François de Voltaire (1694-1778), had a wonderful facility with the pen. Even in boyhood he was a clever hand at turning verses and fully appreciative of his cleverness. His businesslike father did not enjoy the boy's poetry, especially as much of it was written when young François should have been studying law. But François had a mind of his own; he liked to show his cleverness in gay society and relished making rhymes about the foibles of public ministers or the stupidity of the prince regent of France.<sup>1</sup> The regent struck back by imprisoning Voltaire a year in the Bastille. And a few years later, an offended nobleman had Voltaire beaten, sent again to the Bastille, and then exiled for three years in England (1726-1729).

Voltaire already admired Bayle's writings. He already admired the scientific progress of the age and discounted religious "superstition." And his exile now brought him into intimate contact with like-minded English scientists and philosophers. Full of enthusiasm for his English friends, he proceeded to write *Letters on the English*, packed with sarcastic criticisms of existing church and society and impregnated with deistic philosophy.

On his return to France, and for years afterwards, Voltaire poured out a flood of writings—tragedies and comedies, histories, essays, and letters—thereby establishing his reputation as the most versatile and accomplished writer of his age. Much of what he wrote was superficial; some of his "hundred volumes" are seldom read nowadays; and his plays, on which he particularly prided himself, are dreadfully boring to present-day readers. Yet, most of his writings, especially his letters and essays, are undoubtedly clever, witty, and graceful; and, inspired as they are with the spirit of the Enlightenment, it is easy to understand why they were immensely popular and influential in his day.

For a great part of his life, Voltaire resided at Cirey in Lorraine,—with his mistress, his books, his manuscripts, and his laboratory—for Voltaire, true son of the Enlightenment, liked to play at science. For a time he lived in Prussia as the protégé of Frederick the Great, but he treated this irascible monarch with neither tact nor deference, and soon left Berlin to escape the king's ire. He was in high favor at the court of Catherine the Great of Russia. He lived at Geneva, in Switzerland, for a while.

<sup>1</sup> The duke of Orleans. See above, pp. 315-316.

We may recall him at the age of eighty-four when he made a famous visit to Paris,—a sprightly old man with wrinkled face, and with sharp eyes peering out from either side of the long nose, beaming with pride at the flattery of his many admirers, sparkling with satisfaction at making a witty repartee; still clever, cynical, and amusing; still the literary arbiter of Europe.

Voltaire was at once a product and a popularizer of the Enlightenment—its interest in natural science, its belief in natural law, in natural rights, in human reason, and in human perfectibility—and his significance lay in his use of the philosophy of the Enlightenment as the foil for the sharp rapier which he repeatedly thrust at the “irrational” ideas and institutions of the eighteenth century. Usually his criticism was more destructive than constructive. It was doubtless easier to poke fun at existing abuses than to suggest practical means of remedying them. He wittily criticized manners and morals, society and government, professing admiration for English liberties, but never explaining just how the “liberties” of England were to be transplanted into France.

Voltaire,  
Apostle of  
the “En-  
lighten-  
ment”

Against ecclesiastical Christianity, Voltaire made peculiarly sharp thrusts. “The infamous thing” (“l’infâme”), he repeatedly called it. He had no patience with organized Christianity, whether Protestant or Catholic; the only Christian body for which he expressed any sympathy was the Quakers. To him all priests were imposters, all miracles were illusions, and all revelations were human inventions. Christian churches might remain for a time to solace the ignorant and keep the lower classes in order, but for intelligent men Voltaire was sure that deism—the true religion of Nature—was sufficient. He was certain that the God of Nature who had made the myriad stars of the firmament and had promulgated eternal laws for the universe could have no concern for the petty and perhaps imaginary souls of human beings.

Voltaire’s deism represented the prevalent religious trend among a large number of middle-class and upper-class Europeans in the eighteenth century, a trend more basically revolutionary than the Protestant movement of the sixteenth century. For, whereas the Protestant movement had assailed and disrupted the historic church, deism now assailed and threatened to destroy all

the distinctive tenets of historic Christianity, whether Catholic or Protestant. Many clergymen denounced Voltaire and undertook to refute deism. But such efforts were not very successful. There were too many influential laymen and even too many high-placed ecclesiastics who wished to be thought of as "enlightened" and who sympathized with deism and enjoyed the sallies of Voltaire; and few monarchs of the age could be relied upon for systematic or effective measures against the new scepticism.

So the light of deism radiated far and near. Hardly a literary personage of the eighteenth century failed to reflect it. It is to be seen in the poetry of Pope, in the prose of Herder, in the historical writing of Gibbon, and in the epochal encyclopedia of the Frenchmen Diderot and d'Alembert. This encyclopedia deserves special mention. It was a compilation, in seventeen volumes (with supplementary pictorial volumes), of articles by a group of distinguished mathematicians, astronomers, physicists, social scientists, and philosophers, who undertook to describe the latest progress in their respective fields. It was at once a monument of learning and a manifesto of the rationalist scepticism of the Enlightenment. It supplemented and reënforced the life-work of Voltaire.

Some of the Encyclopedists (as the editors and writers of the encyclopedia were called) were more radical than Voltaire about religion. Some, in departing from Christianity, did not stop at deism but went on to atheism. One of these, a most interesting character, was Holbach (1723-1789), a native of the German Palatinate who, brought to Paris in his youth by a suddenly wealthy and socially climbing father, was enabled by his income and his amiability to keep open house for "enlightened" philosophers and to provide them with costly wines and excellent cuisine. To Holbach's salon repaired such men as the editors Diderot and D'Alembert, the statesman Turgot, the scientist Buffon, the historian Hume, the actor Garrick, and the novelist Sterne—Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans of intellectual fame and revolutionary proclivities. Holbach himself contributed several articles to the encyclopedia and outdid his colleagues and guests in expression of anti-religious sentiments. In his *Christianity Unveiled* (1767) he assailed not only Christianity but religion in general as the source of all human

evils. In his *System of Nature* (1770), in the writing of which Diderot collaborated, it was maintained that there is no God at all—not even a God of Nature,—that the universe is only matter in spontaneous movement, that what man calls the soul becomes extinct when the body dies, that self-enjoyment is the object of mankind, and that the restraints of religion should be replaced by education in enlightened self-interest.<sup>1</sup> The *System of Nature* was intended for intellectuals, but its principles were vulgarized by Holbach in a volume entitled *Good Sense* (1772) and in a series of declamatory brochures: *On Sacerdotal Imposture*, *Priests Unmasked*, *Critical History of Jesus Christ*, etc. Holbach's writings created a sensation. They troubled not only Christians but deists, and Frederick the Great and Voltaire, as well as Catholic priests and Protestant preachers, attempted to refute Holbach. Holbach, however, made converts, so that toward the close of the eighteenth century, while deism was contending with Christianity, atheism was emerging as a contender with deism.<sup>2</sup>

In its conflict with older conceptions of Christianity, deism was aided by the contemporary rise and spread of freemasonry. Freemasonry, as we know it, originated in England early in the eighteenth century. Previously there had been "lodges" of "free masons," local societies which preserved some of the external ceremonial of the medieval guilds of master masons that had fallen into decay or been suppressed in the sixteenth century, but these "lodges," while honorary and admitting to membership aristocrats and intellectuals who were not masons at all, had been rigidly Christian and closely affiliated with Christian churches. Now, however, as deism spread among English intellectuals and aristocrats, the lodges of "free masons" underwent a change. In the year 1717 several of them were federated in a Grand Lodge, which, with London as its headquarters, proceeded to revise and unify the "constitutions" and ritual in the spirit of the Enlightenment and to inaugurate a rapid extension of the new freemasonry.

**Deism  
and Free-  
masonry**

<sup>1</sup> Holbach's atheism was anticipated to some extent by Helvetius (1715-1771), who in his treatise *On the Soul* (1758) had asserted that there is no difference between man and the lower animals and no freedom of choice between good and evil. Ethics, according to Helvetius, should be purely utilitarian.

<sup>2</sup> A classic of deism was Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* (1794), which, because of its vitriolic assaults on "superstition," was long but mistakenly regarded by Christians in English-speaking lands as a plea for atheism.

Under the auspices of the English Grand Lodge, freemasonry spread quickly throughout Great Britain and the British colonies.

**Spread of Free-masonry from England**     Subsidiary grand lodges were organized in Ireland in 1725 and in Scotland in 1736. By the close of the eighteenth century there were 1,600 subordinate lodges in England. In the meantime, lodges were founded at Boston (1733), at Philadelphia, and at other American towns; at Calcutta (1730), Madras, and elsewhere in India; in Canada (1740) and in the West Indies (1742). Aristocrats, even princes of the royal family, flocked to freemasonry, and at far-flung military posts army officers formed lodges. The first masonic publication in America was the work of Benjamin Franklin (1734), a very "enlightened" colonial and a most enthusiastic freemason. George Washington was initiated by a lodge in Virginia in 1753.

Outside of British territory freemasonry was soon implanted. The first French lodge was chartered at Paris in 1732 by the English Grand Lodge, and before long French freemasons had a grand lodge of their own—the Grand Orient. Freemasonry was introduced into Germany in 1733, Portugal and Holland in 1735, Switzerland in 1740, Denmark in 1745, Italy in 1763, Russia in 1771, Sweden in 1773.

This ramifying freemasonry was not ostensibly anti-Christian but it was pronouncedly pro-deist. Among its founders and propagandists were Anglican clergymen,<sup>1</sup> and on the Continent it included at the outset a considerable number of Protestant ministers and Catholic priests, but these gentlemen, being singularly "enlightened," were more deist than Christian, and the elaborate ritual and symbolism of freemasonry betrayed the thought of the Enlightenment, including its non-Christian deism. Individual freemasons might adhere to any kind of Christianity, but they were not to defend or discuss it in the lodges. What was expected of all of them, according to Masonic teaching, was rational faith in the God of Nature—the "Great Architect of the Universe"—and in His physical and moral laws. Such continued to be the central tenet of English-speaking freemasonry, but on the Continent, in Catholic countries, the growing opposition of the pope and other ecclesiastics to the whole institution of freemasonry served to render it more radical and more re-

<sup>1</sup> One of the most active and zealous was the Rev. James Anderson.

ceptive to atheistic propaganda. In 1772, two years after the publication of Holbach's *System of Nature*, a schism occurred in the Grand Orient of France; one faction rejected, and the other retained, the Great Architect of the Universe.

Undoubtedly the rapid spread of freemasonry in the eighteenth century is explicable not only because it nicely reflected the widespread "enlightenment" of the time but also because it was a secret oath-bound organization, giving its members a feeling of mystery and ritual and at the same time a sense of an uplifting mission which they were to perform among their fellow men. And doubtless the same reasons explain the parallel rise of numberless other secret societies. For example, the "Order of Perfectibilists"—the "Illuminati," as its members were commonly called—was founded in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt, a German ex-Jesuit: it was very secret and mysterious and very "enlightened"; in Germany it attracted several princes and such literary men as Herder and Goethe; and for a time it had flourishing branches in other countries of the Continent.

Other  
"Enlight-  
ened"  
Secret  
Societies

One result of the religious developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was of special significance for the succeeding age. It was the rise of religious toleration.

To the rise of religious toleration both pietism and deism contributed. Pietists, in minimizing theological differences and emphasizing that religion was a matter of inner feeling rather than of external observance, a concern of the individual conscience rather than of church or state, were naturally inclined to deprecate any attempt of ecclesiastics or statesmen to oblige people to adhere to a particular creed or to an established church. Such pietist sects as Quakers, Douk-hobors, and Swedenborgians, themselves enduring a good deal of persecution, were especially insistent on religious toleration. On the other hand, deists, convinced that all forms of supernatural religion were more or less superstitious and yet recognizing that their own "natural religion" was not shared by the masses, could hardly approve of any state action which would militate against the "enlightenment" and in favor of "superstition." It was natural, in the circumstances, that deists and pietists should make common cause against religious intolerance. A deist like Voltaire was politic, if not strictly logical, in applauding

Rise of  
Religious  
Toleration

Quaker pietism while damning Catholic Christianity. It was in the guise of a Quaker that Thomas Paine wrote against traditional Protestant Christianity.

However fanatical and bigoted some churchmen and many lower-class people continued to be, the progress of deism (and, to a lesser extent, the progress of pietism) combined with the growing absorption in natural science to produce in the eighteenth century among the more influential classes in European society a marked indifference, if not repugnance, to religious fanaticism. The "enlightened" classes had no enthusiasm for the forceful maintenance of any particular religion, and "enlightened" despots began to vie with one another in abrogating or disregarding earlier statutes of religious uniformity.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, anti-Protestant laws in France and anti-Catholic laws in England were less and less enforced. The last French execution for heresy occurred in 1766. The first British steps toward Catholic emancipation were the Quebec Act of 1774<sup>1</sup> and the enfranchisement of Irish Catholics in 1793. In Spain, under the rule of the "enlightened" King Charles III (1759-1788) and his "enlightened" philosopher-minister, the count of Aranda, the Inquisition was curbed and an unwonted religious tolerance was practically, if not theoretically, exercised. Even a pope of the period, Benedict XIV (1740-1758), was praised by many an intellectual, including Voltaire, for his tolerant spirit as well as for his unfailing wit.

The new tolerance was forwarded, in the opinion of contemporaries, by the suppression of the Jesuits. Since its foundation in the sixteenth century, the Society of Jesus had been a strong pillar of the Catholic Church; its members had played leading rôles in education, in missionary enterprise, in public affairs, and in controversy with Protestants. In the eighteenth century, however, the society incurred the dislike and hostility of professedly Catholic monarchs and statesmen, not only because it combated Jansenism and deism and the "Enlightenment" in general, but also because it became increasingly involved in economic and other temporal concerns. In 1759, Pombal, the "enlightened" chief minister to the king of Portugal, expelled the Jesuits from Portuguese territory; in 1767 they were expelled from France and Spain; and in 1773

**Suppression of the Jesuits**

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 480.

Pope Clement XIV, yielding to pressure, formally suppressed the society throughout Catholic Christendom.

In the Austrian dominions, religious toleration found a champion in Joseph II (1765-1790). In Prussia, its outstanding exponent was Frederick II (1740-1786). Indeed, this Frederick—Frederick the Great—was the first monarch distinctly to proclaim not only that the state should tolerate all religions but also that it should favor none.<sup>1</sup> Catherine II of Russia (1762-1796) was likewise tolerant of religious dissent, in her fashion. While outwardly conforming with the Orthodox Church, she secularized its property and despised its clergy, and with cynical liberality she allowed Jesuits who had been expelled from other countries to settle at one end of her empire and Moslem Tartars to erect mosques at the other end.

Religious  
Policy of  
"Enlight-  
ened"  
Despots

The growth of deism and scepticism was accompanied by the decline of governmental religious intolerance not only, but of popular faith in witchcraft also. Witchcraft had had many victims, as we have seen,<sup>2</sup> in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries throughout Christendom and it had continued to be punished in the seventeenth century, especially in Protestant countries, by numerous beheadings and burnings. As time went on, however, more voices were raised against it. Frederick Spee, a German Jesuit, expressed disbelief in it in 1631; and in 1691, Balthasar Bekker, a Dutch Protestant pastor, argued against its credibility. Hobbes and Spinoza alike denounced the popular faith in witchcraft as a delusion, and by the eighteenth century almost all "intellectuals," whether deist or Christian, were influencing the civil governments to put an end to trials of "witches." The last English trial for witchcraft was in 1712, when a woman was convicted but not executed; and the last trial and execution in Scotland occurred in 1722. The last witch-trial in Spain was in 1782, and the last in Germany was in 1793.

Decline of  
Witchcraft

The Age of Enlightenment witnessed another important, almost revolutionary, intellectual change. It beheld the beginning of Jewish emancipation. For centuries Jews had lived in Europe as a people distinct and apart from their Christian neigh-

<sup>1</sup> On the religious policies of Frederick II and Joseph II, see above, pp. 348-349, 351.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 210-211.



bers and legally on a lower plane. Into some countries they had not been permitted to enter; from other countries they had been banished; and in countries where they might reside they had long been compelled to live in particular sections of specified towns and to wear a distinctive dress and were forbidden to own land, to bear arms, to attend universities, to follow the learned professions, or to proselytize. They had usually been accorded "privileges" but not "rights"; they had been members of little Jewish states within European nations, rather than being citizens of these nations. Theoretically, they had never been treated as heretics and had always enjoyed freedom of conscience and freedom of worship, but actually they had repeatedly been victimized by fanatical mobs and by bigoted churchmen and statesmen.

Responsibility for this anomalous situation rested in part with the Jews themselves and in part with their Christian neighbors. Everywhere the Jews were a minority, and they were a minority which was peculiarly clannish and traditionally reluctant to mingle with "Gentiles." Not only were their strictly religious tenets at variance with those of Christianity, but they prided themselves on being a distinctive nationality, the "chosen people" of God, and they scrupulously adhered to the Mosaic law, which sanctified social customs and observances quite different from those of Christian Europe. On the other hand, their Christian neighbors regarded them, as majority is wont to regard minority, with suspicion and aversion; Christians thought of Jews not only as stiff-necked unbelievers and descendants of them that had persecuted Christ, but also as grasping money-changers and tricky tradesmen. At least, this was the situation so long as Jews were fanatically Jewish in religion and Christians were fanatically Christian.

Certain Protestant sects, it is true, by placing special emphasis on the Old Testament (the essentially Jewish scriptures), tended to arouse among their followers a greater interest in the Jews and to inculcate a more tolerant attitude toward them. Such an attitude was made easier by the fact that these sects, like the Jews, were minorities and specially liable to persecution. It is not without significance that Jews who were driven from Spain and Portugal were welcomed and harbored in the seventeenth century by the Calvinist Dutch Netherlands, and that

**Beginning  
of Jewish  
Emanci-  
pation**

it was Cromwell and his fanatically Puritan followers who re-admitted Jews to England in 1655. Cromwell encouraged them to build a synagogue in London.

Yet, despite the new toleration in the Netherlands and England, the seventeenth century was not ripe for any general emancipation of the Jews. There was still too much bigotry on the part of both Christians and Jews. It was the Jewish colony in Amsterdam, not the Christian government of the Netherlands, which persecuted Spinoza. And ample evidence of Jewish fanaticism was afforded by the enthusiasm with which Jews all over Europe acclaimed a certain Sabbatai Sebi (1626-1676), a mystic of Smyrna (in Asia Minor), who claimed to be the Messiah and promised to restore the Jewish kingdom at Jerusalem.

Terrible disillusionment awaited Jews who had put their faith in Sabbatai. For the "Messiah" proved to be an impostor; arrested by Turkish officials, he purchased his freedom by abjuring Judaism and becoming a Moslem (1666). But in the disillusionment, many European Jews grew less fanatical and turned more and more to rationalism. By the eighteenth century there were Jewish, as well as Christian, philosophers of the "Enlightenment."

The foremost Jewish philosopher of the "Enlightenment" was Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786). Born in the ghetto of the German town of Dessau, Mendelssohn at an early age developed an interest in the science and philosophy of the age, an interest which was heightened by his acquaintance and intimate friendship with Lessing, the leading German playwright, art critic, and deist. Lessing did much to win for Mendelssohn a favorable hearing among non-Jews—his most famous play, *Nathan the Wise*, was a portrait of the noble Jewish philosopher—and Mendelssohn inaugurated a veritable revolution in Judaism. Mendelssohn argued with sweet reasonableness that Judaism is but one of several true religions, and that every religion must be judged pragmatically, that is, by its effects upon personal conduct. He also urged his fellow Jews, while clinging to their central faith and their high moral standards, to know and participate in the world about them, to abandon their clannishness, to cease to repine for Jerusalem, and to strive to become good citizens of the countries in which they

Moses  
Men-  
delssohn

lived. He likewise labored for an "enlightened" reform of Jewish education, whereby the gulf between Jews and Gentiles would be lessened, and at the same time he pled for thorough-going religious toleration and for the admittance of Jews to full civil rights.<sup>1</sup>

Mendelssohn's work was nicely timed. It was done just when the "Enlightenment" was at its height, when all manner of intellectuals, Protestant, Catholic, deist, and Jewish, were demanding a surcease of religious persecution, and when most European monarchs stood ready to prove their own "enlightenment" by decreeing religious toleration. Frederick the Great did not like Jews and his comments about them were especially sharp and sarcastic, but "enlightened" despot that he was, he inaugurated their emancipation in Prussia. He not only assured them toleration and protection but, by obliging them to take surnames, he removed an important distinction between them and his Christian subjects.

Farther than Frederick the Great went Joseph II of Austria. In 1781-1782 this reforming Habsburg issued a series of edicts concerning the Jews in his extensive dominions. No longer must they wear beards and distinctive dress and live in ghettos; they might freely attend the universities, learn handicrafts, and engage in the arts and sciences. Joseph repeatedly commanded that Christians should behave toward Jews "in a friendly manner." In this, as in so many other respects, Joseph II was but registering the intellectual revolution which the "Enlightenment" produced in eighteenth-century Europe.

**Joseph II's  
Edicts  
concerning  
the Jews**

concerning the Jews in his extensive dominions. No longer must they wear beards and distinctive dress and live in ghettos; they might freely attend the universities, learn handicrafts, and engage in the arts and

#### 4. DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

The vogue of natural science in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries carried with it, as we have seen, the vogue of a new philosophy—a new metaphysics—of natural law, and this involved, in turn, the rise of rationalist scepticism about supernatural religion. But as intellectuals became more sceptical of God, they grew more dogmatic about man, which was doubtless

<sup>1</sup> Please put forth especially in the book *Jerusalem* (1783). Of this book, Kant wrote to Mendelssohn: "It is the proclamation of a great reform, which, however, will be slow in manifestation and progress, and which will affect not only your people but others as well."

quite natural. For, while they were uncertain of the reality of God, they were sure that man is as real as a star or a rabbit and as obedient to natural law. Hence, the Age of Enlightenment was characterized both by the neglect of theology and by the cultivation of the rationalist study of man—what we call social science.

**Social  
Science  
in the  
Age of  
Enlighten-  
ment**

Social science developed parallel with natural science. Both betokened a novel and widespread curiosity to explore the universe with critical eyes and without religious predilection. Both were aspects of the Intellectual Revolution which was ushering in our contemporary world.

Knowledge of man's past—that is, history—would seem to be an important and fundamental part of social science. And certainly one impressive phase of the development of social science in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the rise of critical historical scholarship.

**History as  
a Science**

History was to be based on authentic "documents," to tell the story of the past objectively, to eschew miracles, and to be natural." Such, at any rate, were the ideals of the new "scientific" historians, and some historians of the era went farther than any of their predecessors toward the realization of these ideals.<sup>1</sup>

Mabillon (1632-1707), a French Benedictine monk and a scholar of vast erudition, spent a long and illustrious life in the study of historical documents and in the formulation of scientific principles and rules for the study of historical documents by others. Mabillon's work gave a marked stimulus to scholarly historical research.

**Mabillon  
and the  
Congrega-  
tion of  
St. Maur**

It also gave a special incentive to the systematic collecting and critical editing of historical documents. The congregation of Benedictine monks to which Mabillon belonged—the Congregation of St. Maur—began in 1733 the publication of a monumental collection of "sources" of French history; and at about the same time a similar enterprise was undertaken for ancient and medieval Italy by a scholarly Italian priest, Muratori (1672-1750).

Simultaneously, there was a noteworthy growth of libraries for the housing of historical materials. Long established libraries were now greatly enlarged. The Vatican library was expanded

<sup>1</sup> For forerunners of "scientific" critical history, see above, pp. 104-105, 131.

by a series of eighteenth-century popes. The number of manuscripts and volumes in the Laurentian library at Florence and in the Ambrosian library at Milan was doubled in the eighteenth century. The royal Prussian library, founded in 1661, was reorganized and tripled in size at the end of the seventeenth century. The Royal French library (now the Bibliothèque Nationale) was richly endowed by Colbert and Louis XIV, and its present building was erected early in the eighteenth century. The British Museum was founded in 1753.

In the meantime, Vico (1668-1744), an Italian professor, was introducing a new critical attitude in narrative history. He was almost the first to subject the sources of ancient Greek and Roman history to searching criticism and to contend that many of their accounts were unreliable. He was likewise almost the first to describe political institutions and works of art as products of changing environment and circumstance. Vico's attitude was adopted by Montesquieu (1689-1755), the French political philosopher, who, in his famous *Spirit of the Laws*, traced an historical evolution of political ideas and practices and based it on differing environments, particularly on differing climates. Vico's attitude was also exemplified, to a certain extent, by Winckelmann (1717-1768), a German who lived long at Rome in the service of several cardinals and whose researches into the history of Greek art have earned him the title of "founder of scientific archæology." Incidentally, it may be remarked that Winckelmann published the first treatise on the excavated archæological treasures at Pompeii and Herculaneum (1762).

The newer historical tendencies were extolled and forwarded by Herder (1744-1803), a German Lutheran pastor, who served for many years as court-preacher to the duke of Saxe-Weimar, and who, like many other intellectuals in the Age of Enlightenment, was half pietist and half deist. Herder was not a "scientific" historian himself; he neither collected "documents" nor wrote detailed critical narratives. But he made many earnest and influential pleas for the scientific study of man's past, and in his *Ideas on the Philosophy of History* he indicated what in his opinion should be the goal and method of the "new history." History should be "a pure

**Historical  
Libraries**

**Vico and  
Critical  
History**

**Herder  
and the  
"New  
History"**

natural history of human powers, actions, and propensities, as modified by time and place." It should be genetic, explaining how the human race has evolved from earliest times to the present. It should be national, showing how various tribes and nationalities have been differentiated and what contributions they have respectively made to world civilization. It should be cultural, dealing not so much with politics and war as with society, art, and thought. Above all, it should be humanitarian, promoting a real understanding and appreciation of human nature and therefore promoting a wide new range of social science—anthropology, archæology, philology, and comparative religion. Herder provided a prospectus for the development of social science not alone in his age, but in ours also.

In the eighteenth century—at the height of the "Enlightenment"—history reflected the scepticism, the rationalism, and the deism (or atheism) of contemporary philosophy. There was a pronounced tendency to belittle the middle age as an "age of faith and superstition" and at the same time to expatiate on the "enlightenment" of classical pagan Rome as well as on that of the modern "age of reason." The greatest and most typical history of the eighteenth century was the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* by Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), a well-to-do English gentleman, who, like Bayle before him, had been converted to Catholicism, reconverted to Protestantism, and eventually drawn into complete agnosticism. With devastating rhetoric and mordant wit, Gibbon contrasted pagan "civilization" with Christian "barbarism" and attributed the fall of Rome to the triumph of Christianity. Another important historical work of the century was the *History of England* by David Hume (1711-1776), the Scottish materialist philosopher; it dealt with modern Britain in a partisan manner at once pro-Tory and pro-deist and was none too accurate, but it was the first attempt to introduce the social and literary aspects of a nation's life as only second in importance to its political fortunes, and the first modern historical writing in an animated yet refined and polished style.

The histories of Hume and Gibbon enjoyed large sales and great popularity. But even more popular—and certainly more superficial—were the historical writings of Voltaire, especially his *Age of Louis XIV* and his *Life of Charles XII* (of Sweden), and the

Rationalist  
History:  
Gibbon  
and Hume

series of histories which emanated from the pen of Raynal (1713-1796), a French ex-priest and close friend of Diderot and Holbach.

**Popular History:** Raynal's histories were far from scholarly, but they were widely read because their subjects were timely and their contents were "philosophical." Raynal's *History of the Statholderate* and *History of the Parliament of England* were political tracts, contrasting the reasonableness of Dutch and English "liberty" with the irrationality of French "despotism," and his more famous *Philosophical and Political History of European Commerce and Establishments in the two Indies* catered to the current prejudices of "enlightened" Europeans in favor of the "noble savages" of America and the "noble sages" of Asia.

The very great popularity of such histories as those of Raynal and Voltaire was striking proof that the general run of eighteenth-century intellectuals were much more interested in contemporary philosophy than in past facts. Here, indeed, is a clue to one of the most significant aspects of the development of social science in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Despite advance in historical methods and historical ideals, in the collection of historical materials, and in the production of such a brilliant historical narrative as Gibbon's, the Age of Enlightenment was curiously unhistorical. Intellectuals, especially of the eighteenth century, were certain that their own age was vastly more "enlightened" than any other and consequently that they could derive little or no profit from the study of earlier ages (except possibly the pagan age of Rome and Greece), and they were too convinced of the infallible guidance of their own reason to perceive any utility in past experience or tradition. Being "enlightened," they wished to free themselves from "superstition," and to them the record of the past seemed to be mainly a record of ignorance and superstition. Being free from "superstition," they felt themselves free to evolve, not from history, but from their own inner consciousness ("reason," they termed it), the true knowledge of human nature, the real "social science." Wherefore most eighteenth-century intellectuals were contemptuous of man's past and intent only upon his present and future.

What is the most rational form of political government for man? That was the question, next to the question of how religion may be rationalized, which aroused the greatest interest among the philosophers of the Enlightenment and elicited the largest number of answers. The question was raised in practical and forceful ways by the British political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some of the most impressive (and partisan) answers were supplied by Englishmen. The answers were not limited to Englishmen, however. For, with the success of the British revolutions, English political philosophy inspired a vast deal of political discussion and criticism on the Continent, particularly in France.

**Rational  
Political  
Science**

At the outset, attempts were made to show that the prevalent practice of absolute divine-right monarchy was based on principles of sound philosophy. At the beginning of the seventeenth century King James I of England argued the case chiefly from the Bible, and so likewise did the French Bishop Bossuet in the second half of that century.<sup>1</sup> Another kind of argument, and one more in keeping with the dictates of the new social science, was advanced by Hobbes, the English materialist, in his famous *Leviathan* (1651). Hobbes, quite sceptical of the Bible and of any supernatural religion, justified absolutist monarchy on the ground that it is the most rational means of dealing with human nature. Man, according to Hobbes, is by nature an unsocial animal, guided solely by selfishness, and instinctively hostile to every other man. But, in order to overcome the hostility of others and to achieve his own selfish ends in peace, man has naturally entered into a "social contract" with his prince, whereby the absolutist political state is established with supreme authority in all matters, including control of religion and individual conscience. Such a social contract, once made, is forever binding; to break it would remove the one effective check on civil war, barbarism, and anarchy.

**Thomas  
Hobbes**

<sup>1</sup> So, too, did two Jesuits, the Flemish Lessius (1621) and the Italian Scribani (1624).



Hobbes set forth his political philosophy as a protest against the Puritan Revolution, the execution of King Charles I, and the attendant civil war in England. In its immediate purposes, it was a failure; it was too royalist to appeal to the parliamentary party or to Cromwell, and it was too irreligious to attract either Anglicans or Dissenters. Indirectly, however, it was very influential. It centred attention on the need of a strong, authoritative state. It set the fashion for "rational" speculation about government. It helped to strengthen the idea that the church should be subordinate to the state. Most important, it provoked lively debate and stimulated special interest in the "social contract."

"Social contract" found favor with certain advocates of the parliamentary and puritan cause in England. John Lilburne (1616-1657), a radical Puritan and a leader of the group known as "Levellers," declared that men are free and equal by nature, that they create government by social contract in order to preserve their natural rights of freedom and equality, and that whenever these rights are impaired they may revise their contract and create a new government. John Milton (1608-1674), in numberless pamphlets of majestic prose, argued that liberty is the real badge of natural man and the true goal of society and the state, that liberty is best assured by rational self-government, and that the rational state should guaranty to its citizens free worship,<sup>1</sup> free speech, free marriage and divorce, freedom from custom. Milton set forth in 1641 the ideal of "a free church in a free state" and in his celebrated *Areopagitica* he pleaded for the abolition of press censorship.

Of greater immediate influence was John Locke (1632-1704), who provided the reasoned platform and apology for the "Glorious" Revolution of 1689. His principal political writings—the *Two Treatises on Government*—were intended "to establish the throne of our great restorer, the present king William III, to make good his title in the consent of the people." Locke contended that all men possess natural rights of life, liberty, and property; that for the protection of these rights people create governments; and that if a government

<sup>1</sup> Except for Catholics. Milton, earnest Puritan that he was was not an advocate of complete religious toleration

fails to fulfill its task, the people may logically assert the equally natural right of revolution, the right to overthrow the government. In other words, the people are the real sovereign, the true power behind the throne. Never before had the doctrine of popular sovereignty been urged with quite such cogency,<sup>1</sup> and from the central doctrine Locke deduced, further, two important principles. First, since the "people" is simply a collection of individuals having equal rights, political decisions should rest with the majority of individuals. Second, since the purpose of government is to protect individual liberty, the government should not interfere with the religious convictions of its citizens. Here, however, Locke was not so thoroughgoing as might be imagined. He argued against the toleration of atheists, because without a belief in God they could not be depended upon to respect social obligations, and he argued, too, against the toleration of Catholics on the ground of their allegiance to a foreign sovereign.

Locke's political philosophy became exceedingly popular. In England it was accepted as justifying the newer political developments—the limited (as opposed to absolute) monarchy, the ascendancy of parliament (representative of the "people," in theory if not in fact), and the rise of cabinet government. In America it provided an arsenal of arguments for the "Patriots" in their revolt against king and parliament; its principles bulked large in the Declaration of Independence of 1776 and in the United States Constitution of 1787. In the meantime, it influenced a number of writers on the Continent of Europe.

Spinoza, the distinguished Jewish philosopher of the Netherlands, was personally acquainted with Locke and, while endorsing Hobbes's rather gloomy view of man's natural condition and propensities, was led to adopt Locke's version of the social contract. Like Locke, Spinoza held that the primary function of the state is to secure the good of its members and that this can be secured only by full recognition of individual liberties.

Baruch  
Spinoza

French writers of the eighteenth century were particularly influenced not only by Locke's political philosophy but also by

<sup>1</sup> Similar doctrines had been urged by Cardinal Bellarmine (1542-1621) and by two Spanish Jesuits, Mariana (1536-1624) and Suarez (1548-1617), and likewise by Grotius (1583-1645) and Pufendorf (1632-1694).

the curious contrasts which they perceived between the government of his country and that of their own. England had a "constitution," and France lacked one. England's king was limited, while France's was absolute, and arbitrary. In England parliament was powerful and personal freedom was guaranteed and respected, while in France there was no effective participation of the people in government and there were no safeguards of individual liberty. That the English government was more "rational" than the French, that it was more in harmony with the principles of sound political science, seemed to be demonstrated in the protracted series of wars which raged between England and France from 1689 to 1763: autocratic France was uniformly vanquished and "liberal" England was uniformly victorious.

We have already noticed how Voltaire as a young man spent several years in England and how he wrote of English institutions and customs. Voltaire was not unique in his admiration of England. Most French intellectuals of the time were prone to wax enthusiastic about the constitution, the liberties, the practical political philosophy, of their island neighbors.

The greatest of these was undoubtedly Montesquieu (1689-1755), a lawyer and nobleman, a student of natural science, and an admirer of Isaac Newton and John Locke. In his *Persian Letters*, and more especially in his masterpiece, *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), Montesquieu proved himself one of the most original and brilliant political scientists that the world has ever produced. Unlike most contemporary philosophers of the Age of Enlightenment (including Hobbes and Locke), he did not think that political science should depend on pure logic or that it should be based on an hypothetical "state of nature" or an imaginary "social contract." Rather he undertook to show, from a critical study of human history, that there is no one perfect system of government for all nations but that political institutions and laws are extremely complicated and, to be successful, must be adapted to the peculiarities of particular climates and peoples. Montesquieu embodied in his masterpiece, it is true, a flattering description of the British constitution, its checks and balances, and its separation of powers among executive, legislature, and judiciary, all coöperating to produce a liberty consonant with British environment and British genius.

Critical  
Political  
Philosophy  
in France

Montesquieu

And this none too accurate description tended to obscure the main thesis of Montesquieu, while enlisting the authority of his name in support of those persons in France and America who were seeking to pattern their respective governments after British models.

Outside of his eulogy of British politics, Montesquieu was less famous in his own day than in ours. His method was too historical and his findings were not sufficiently simple. It was left for a younger Frenchman to catch the imagination of the host of eighteenth-century intellectuals and would-be intellectuals with a political philosophy at once extremely simple and quite revolutionary. This Frenchman, or French Swiss—he was born at Geneva,—was hailed as *the* political philosopher. He was Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778).

Rousseau was a maladjusted person. He was everything he should not have been. He was a failure as footman, as servant, as tutor, as secretary, as music copier, as lace maker. He wandered in Geneva, Turin, Paris, Vienna, London. His immorality was notorious, and his children he put in a foundling asylum. He was dishonest, discontented, and, in his last years, demented.

Jean  
Jacques  
Rousseau

Yet this man, who knew so little how to order his own life, exercised an amazing influence over the lives of others. Sordid as was his career, the man himself was not without beautiful and generous impulses. He loved nature in an age when many other men merely studied nature. He liked to look at the clear blue sky, or to admire the soft green fields and shapely trees, and he was not ashamed to confess it. The philosophers who were praising the intellect were inclined to scorn the emotions; Rousseau reminded the eighteenth century that after all it may be as sane to enjoy a sunset as to solve a problem in algebra. Rousseau possessed the soul of a poet. He was a pioneer of romanticism.<sup>1</sup>

In a romantic way Rousseau was interested in nature, not merely in natural scenery but also in natural man. To him, natural man was not the dangerous selfish brute imagined by Hobbes and many other philosophers, but a trustful and virtuous being—a truly “noble savage.” Rousseau never had personal experience with North American Indians or South Sea Islanders, but he was sure that just such “noble savages” were living specimens

<sup>1</sup> On romanticism, see below, pp. 565-566, 570-572, 734-751.

of a genus of "natural men" who had been the progenitors of all civilized nations. In his first significant essay, the *Discourse on Arts and Sciences* (1749), he contrasted the naturalness and inherent goodness of primitive men with the artificiality and acquired wickedness of civilized men, and pictured the delights which would attend the overthrow of "civilization" and the return to "nature." All men would be free and equal; nobody would claim to own the land which God had given to all; there would be no wars to kill, no taxes to oppress, no laws to restrict liberty, and no philosophers to deceive the people.

It was all quite appealing to a generation which was undergoing an intellectual revolution and which was cramped by outworn political institutions and social customs. Rousseau became immediately famous, and he followed up his first success with a second. In the essay on the *Origin of Inequality among Men* (1753), he sought to show how vanity, greed, and selfishness had found lodgement in the hearts of "simple savages," how the strongest had fenced off plots of land for themselves and forced the weak to acknowledge the right of private property. This, he maintained, was the real origin of inequality among men, of the tyranny of the strong over the weak; and this right of private property, "for the profit of a few ambitious men," had subjected all the human race "to labor, servitude, and misery."

There was little "science" in Rousseau's theorizing about inequality, but there was some captivating novelty about it. Not even novelty characterized his famous pamphlet on political philosophy, the *Social Contract* (1761). In this pamphlet his thesis was essentially Locke's, that all governments exercise their powers in last analysis by virtue of a contract which men in a state of nature have voluntarily made with one another and which they may change at will. But Rousseau's *Social Contract* had tremendous vogue. Men's minds were better prepared to receive the doctrine of popular sovereignty from Rousseau in 1761 than from Locke in 1691. Moreover, Rousseau's version of popular sovereignty was more romantic, more clear-cut, more incisive, and more richly stocked with memorable catch-words. Rousseau was soon acclaimed, or denounced, as the father of modern democracy and republicanism.

Rousseau's constant cry, "Back to nature," had still another significant aspect. In a romantic novel, *Émile* (1762), he coun-

selling a revolution in education. He said that children should be allowed to follow their natural inclinations, instead of being driven to artificial studies which they detested and which corrupted them. They should learn practical, useful things, not Latin and Greek. "Let them learn what they must do when they are men, and not what they must forget."

It is hard to fix limits to Rousseau's influence. True, he was condemned by many an earnest Christian and was denounced by such a rationalist and sceptic as Voltaire. But his fol-  
lowers were numerous, both among the upper classes  
and especially among the bourgeoisie. "Back to na-  
ture" speedily became a fad of the day, and the stilted courtiers at Versailles pretended to like "nature." Queen Marie Antoinette built herself a little farm-house and played the rôle of dairy-maid; her ladies-in-waiting took to fishing in the outdoor pools. And it was not alone the rattle-brained who fell under the spell of Rousseau. David Hume was fond of him and befriended him. Thomas Paine admired him and was indebted to him for a large part of the political philosophy of *Common Sense*. Herder fairly worshipped him. Kant appropriated many of his ideas, and, after clothing them in idealistic garb, spread them throughout Germany. In France thousands of "enlightened" townsmen were very shortly to precipitate a political, social, and religious revolution—the great French Revolution—of which the chief motifs were to be Rousseau's: liberty, equality, fraternity; popular sovereignty; democracy; the republic of virtue; the outlawry of aristocrats and plutocrats, of privilege and priestcraft. From the standpoint of the "old régime," France and most of Europe were to become demented, like Rousseau.

Influence  
of  
Rousseau

Rousseau was more romanticist than rationalist, but in common with all the other political philosophers of the age, from Hobbes to Kant, his object was to construct a system of government which, independent of religion, tradition, or external authority, should be based on knowledge of society and should serve the interests of society. In other words, the object was to make of politics a social science.

A similar object was pursued in respect of legal studies. Montesquieu not only wished to put political philosophy on a "scientific" foundation, but his *Spirit of the Laws* represented the first serious attempt at an objective and comparative study of

the legal systems of various countries. Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780) devoted many years as professor at Oxford to research and lecturing on the English legal system. In his *Commentaries* (1765), a literary masterpiece and long esteemed the classic handbook for the study of English law, he maintained that the law of England could be ascertained as scientifically as the law of gravitation or any other law of nature. Beccaria (1738-1794), an Italian nobleman and professor of law and economics at Milan, was the father of modern penology; in 1761 he published a famous treatise, *On Crimes and Punishments*, which passed through six editions in eighteen months and was translated into twenty European languages. He urged, on "scientific" grounds, the prevention, rather than the punishment, of crime, and promptness in punishment where punishment was inevitable. Above all, Beccaria condemned such common current practices as confiscation, capital punishment, and torture.

Of all the "scientific" jurists of the eighteenth century, the most interesting was Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). Bentham came of a well-to-do family of London lawyers, respectably Tory in politics. He was properly educated at Oxford and duly admitted to the bar. From a conventional career he was saved, however, by the fact that he had a tough mind in a peculiarly weak body. Delicate, almost a dwarf, highly nervous and sensitive, he was a mental prodigy in boyhood, and, much stranger, he continued to be a mental prodigy during a life which extended well into the nineteenth century. In these circumstances, Bentham could afford to neglect the practice of law, which was distasteful to him, and to study and write about it, which he did with gusto and at length—in typically eighteenth-century style.

Underlying all the writings of Bentham, all his researches in law as well as his multitudinous excursions into politics, economics, ethics, and religion, was a special philosophy, which has been defined as "utilitarianism." It was the idea that every individual deed should be judged by its utility in promoting the happiness, which is the "good" or the "enlightened interest," of the doer. This idea might appear to be thoroughly selfish, and Bentham frankly admitted that it was. But he argued that each man, in serving his own interests and therefore in assuring his

own happiness, will necessarily serve the best interests of his fellows and promote their greatest happiness. For, whatever acts to make one's fellows unhappy is bound eventually to react on one's self in the same manner. Hence, accordingly to utilitarianism, the aim of social science should be to promote the greatest happiness of individuals—"the greatest good of the greatest number."<sup>1</sup> And self-interest, Bentham was at pains to point out in true eighteenth-century manner, must be "enlightened" self-interest.

The first fruits of Bentham's studies, the *Fragment on Government*, appeared in 1776, the year of the American declaration of independence. It was mainly an attack upon Blackstone's praises of the British constitution and a plea for the reform of political institutions to the end that they might be more rational and more conducive to popular happiness. Then, after several years' cogitation in his singular secluded home, Bentham brought out in 1789 an even more impressive and celebrated volume, his *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, in which he insisted that the object of all legislation must be "the greatest good of the greatest number." He expressed immense admiration for the newly established government and laws of the United States and eagerly besought his own countrymen to imitate the overseas experiments and to adopt a simple written constitution and a logical code of laws. Thenceforth Bentham expended much time and effort on the drafting of "reasonable" constitutions and codes for England not only, but, being a good humanitarian and having a most comprehensive mind, for the whole universe likewise. Jeremy Bentham was a persistent advocate of "reform," at once logical and utilitarian. He was an outstanding pioneer of modern individualism, liberalism, and radicalism.

It was not surprising, in the new age of social speculation, when international trade was expanding, financial profits were accruing, capitalism was growing by leaps and bounds, and an agricultural revolution was taking place,<sup>2</sup> that a goodly number of "enlightened" persons should have sought rational explanations of economic phenomena and

**Rational  
Economic  
Science**

<sup>1</sup> This famous phrase, which has long served as an epitome of Bentham's utilitarianism, was used by Beccaria in the preface to his treatise *On Crimes and Punishments* (1761). The idea was older than Beccaria.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 465-469.



that economics should have taken its place, with politics, penology, and history, among the social sciences.

The dominant economic practice of the seventeenth century was mercantilism, the meaning and significance of which have already been indicated.<sup>1</sup> It may here be recalled that **The Mercantilists** mercantilism was exemplified by the Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch governments of the time, by the economic policies pursued in France by Richelieu and especially by Colbert, and by the navigation laws and other trade regulations enacted in England under Cromwell and Charles II. It may also be remarked that mercantilism was expounded and defended, in more or less scientific manner, by a group of seventeenth-century writers, such as the Italian Serra (1613), the Frenchman Montchrétien (1615), and the Englishman Thomas Mun (1571-1641). These were the first modern "economists." Mun, in particular, a London merchant and official of the English East India Company, wrote a *Discourse on England's Treasure by Forraigne Trade*, which, published posthumously in 1664, was a closely reasoned and seemingly authoritative exposition of the principle of the balance of trade and of the economic advantages which would accrue to the nation whose exports exceeded its imports and whose wealth in precious metals was ever increasing.

Simultaneously, the science of statistics originated. The father of this indispensable tool for the modern social sciences, **Statistics** especially for economics, was John Graunt (1620-1674), a Cockney haberdasher who rose to wealth and influence in London and who, as a pastime, busied himself with collecting statistics of deaths from various causes and reporting them in a volume of *Observations* (1662), which won him election to the Royal Society. What had been a pastime to Graunt was soon developed into a profession by William Petty (1623-1687), a well-to-do Englishman who was educated in France and the Netherlands and who conducted for King Charles II elaborate statistical surveys of Ireland and parts of England. Petty was not only a pioneer in the science of comparative statistics. He was one of the first to break away from mercantilist ideas and to suggest, in his *Treatise of Taxes*, that the price of a commodity depends, not on governmental regulation, but on the amount of labor requisite for its production.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 92-93.

In the eighteenth century, with the advance of economic science, mercantilism appeared less and less reasonable. Beccaria, professor of economics as well as of law,<sup>1</sup> attacked mercantilism, insisted on the labor basis of capital, and expounded "laws" of the relation between the growth of population and subsistence. More influential than Beccaria, however, was François Quesnay (1694-1774), a bourgeois physician at the court of Louis XV of France. Quesnay was sure that he had discovered a "law" of the circulation of wealth as natural and as binding in economics as Harvey's law of the circulation of the blood in human physiology, and that, tested by his "law," mercantilism was erroneous and injurious. He was a solemn, cocksure person, and perhaps because of these qualities he acquired the reputation of being a great scientist. He became the centre of a group of scholars and publicists who with subline self-confidence styled themselves "*the economists*" and who are known in history as the "*Physiocrats*."<sup>2</sup> Quesnay and the Physiocrats taught that a nation's wealth comes from farming and mining; that manufacturers and traders do not create wealth, but merely transform or exchange it; and consequently that governmental restrictions on trade and manufacturing are unnatural and are bound to react against the highest economic interests, which are those of agriculture.<sup>3</sup> "*Laissez-faire*"—"Let them do as they will"—became the slogan of the new economic liberty espoused by Quesnay and his disciples.

The  
Economic  
Liberals:  
Beccaria  
and the  
Physiocrats

It remained for a Scot, Adam Smith (1723-1790), to produce the great classic of eighteenth-century political economy. Smith was quite in harmony with the philosophic spirit of his age, with its "natural rights," "natural religion," and "natural

<sup>1</sup> Beccaria was the second person to occupy a special university chair of economics—at Milan (1768). The first was Genovesi—at Salerno (1754). Genovesi was an exponent of mercantilism.

<sup>2</sup> Prominent among their number were Dupont de Nemours, a nobleman and ancestor of the American Du Ponts; Baudeau, an "enlightened" priest; and the Comte de Mirabeau, father of the French Revolutionary leader. Turgot (1727-1781), the French statesman, accepted much of the Physiocratic doctrine.

<sup>3</sup> It should be borne in mind that Quesnay and the Physiocrats did their work at the very time when the agricultural revolution was occurring in Great Britain (see above, pp. 465-469), when agricultural betterment was the special concern of all the "enlightened" despots on the Continent (see above, p. 347), and when Rousseau was preaching the blessedness of simple agricultural life.

laws"; and as professor of "moral philosophy" in the university of Glasgow he became absorbed in quest of the natural laws by which a nation might increase its wealth. In his quest he was aided by a sojourn in France and by personal association with Quesnay and the Physiocrats, but the findings in his classic, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), while embodying a good deal of the Physiocratic doctrine, were far more inductive in method, far richer in content, and far more convincing in argument. Smith had a fairly clear idea of the intricacies of economic phenomena. He skillfully contended that neither commerce nor agriculture, but only labor, is the source of wealth. He eloquently pleaded for an economical division of labor. And more effectively than any of his predecessors he urged that each man, each employer of labor, each seller of merchandise should follow his own economic interests without let or hindrance on the part of the state, for in so doing he is "led by an invisible hand" to promote the good of the whole nation. Let the government abolish all monopolies, all restrictions on trade, all burdens on industry. *Laissez-faire!* Such, according to Adam Smith, was the ideal toward which sound social science pointed.

"Social science" was enriched in the eighteenth century not only by masterful work in the fields of economics, politics, and history, but also by a remarkable increase of geographical knowledge and its utilization for the charting of certain novel fields of scholarly enterprise. By the eighteenth century there was a multitude of writings by European explorers, missionaries, traders, and travellers on the languages, religions, and customs of the most diverse peoples on the earth's surface: Hindus, Malays, Chinese, Paraguayans, Mexicans, Iroquois, Esquimaux. Captain Cook's voyages in the Pacific and to Australia served to give the voracious reading public of Europe especially interesting information about the most remote and last-known habitable parts of the world.<sup>1</sup>

From this marked access of geographical knowledge (some of it pretty superficial and inaccurate) came an impetus to the comparative study of peoples. This was exemplified in the work of Montesquieu and particularly in the eloquent and oft-re-

<sup>1</sup> On Captain Cook, see above, pp. 419-420.

peated pleas of Herder that the time had come for first-rate scholars to undertake scientific descriptions of the "physiognomy of languages" and the "physiognomy of races." What Herder meant by such "physiognomies" was what we to-day call "philology" and "anthropology."

The main scientific development of philology and anthropology was to be an achievement of the nineteenth century, but the origin of these newer social sciences was in the eighteenth century, at the height of the "Enlightenment." In the field of philology, there appeared a profusion of dictionaries and grammars and a variety of comparative studies. The French Academy, founded by Richelieu in 1635, brought out the first edition of its famous French dictionary in 1694. The Royal Academy at Madrid began a Spanish dictionary in 1726 and published a Spanish grammar in 1771. Samuel Johnson completed his monumental English dictionary in 1755. J. C. Adelung produced a great German dictionary between 1774 and 1786. Sir William Jones (1746-1794), one of the first scientific students of comparative philology, did significant work in the 1770's in Arabic, Hebrew, and Persian, and, becoming a judge of the supreme court at Calcutta under the English East India Company in 1783, he busied himself during his last years with Sanskrit studies. It was Jones who first pointed out certain similarities of Sanskrit, in construction and root-vocabulary, to Latin, Greek, and German, and thereby provided the starting-point for later fruitful investigation of the "Aryan" or "Indo-European" languages and peoples.<sup>1</sup>

One of the first "scientific" anthropologists was J. F. Blumenbach (1752-1840), a German physician who wrote extensively on physiology and at the same time devoted much thought to the classification of human races. The racial classification which Blumenbach adopted (1787) was based on differences in skin color and cranial features. It recognized five fundamental "races": Caucasian, or white; Mongolian, or yellow; Malay, or brown; Negro, or black; and American, or red. It was widely accepted and long remained a central thesis of anthropological study.

One conspicuous aspect of eighteenth-century thought was

<sup>1</sup> In 1799 Gyarmathi showed similarly that Magyar was related to Finnish, thereby stimulating the study of the "Turanian" languages and peoples.

Scientific  
Philology

Scientific  
Anthro-  
pology

**Humanitarianism**, an absorbing interest in humanity at large and a firm conviction that its lot could and should be bettered. Humanitarian, as well as "scientific," motives prompted many a social scientist, and the eighteenth-century development of social science was closely related to the growing vogue of humanitarianism.

Humanitarianism took many forms. It was evidenced in the widespread demand for "reform"—reform of society as preached by Rousseau, reform of economics as advocated by Adam Smith, reform of laws as demanded by Beccaria and Bentham, reform of ethics as sponsored by Kant, reform of religion as urged by Voltaire and the deists or by Wesley and the pietists. All such reform, it was contended, would make for human liberty, for human health and wealth, for human perfection. Indeed, it was assumed that the study of man, his individual and social characteristics, would but prove how perfectible man is; how, if freed from the trammels of the past and reliant only on his own reason, he would create a social, political, economic, ethical, and religious paradise on earth and would create it very soon. Humanitarianism involved optimism. And the optimistic humanitarian social scientists of the eighteenth century, starting with Alexander Pope's lines

" Know then thyself; presume not God to scan;  
The proper study of mankind is man,"

went on to inspire in 1776 the American *Declaration of Independence*, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and Bentham's *Fragment on Government*. The gloomy misgivings of a seventeenth-century Hobbes about human nature were quite dispelled by the growing faith in human nature which in 1789 the "enlightened" revolutionaries of France expressed in their *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*.

Humanitarianism was evidenced, somewhat more specifically, in the gathering momentum of movements for a more humane treatment of criminals, for the abolition of negro slavery, for popular education, and for international peace. The more humane treatment of criminals was urged, as we have seen, by Beccaria and Bentham. It was espoused by a host of eighteenth-century intellectuals, including the "enlightened" despots of the age. It bore fruit not only in

the growth of religious toleration but also, more gradually, in the lessening of capital punishments, in the waning of torture, and in the improvement of prison conditions.

Negro slavery, which had seemed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries an economic necessity for Europeans in the New World,<sup>1</sup> was now assailed on religious and humanitarian grounds. Quakers in Pennsylvania protested in 1696 against the slave trade; English Quakers in 1727 declared it to be "not a commendable or allowed" practice, and in 1761 they forbade their members to engage in it. In America a society for the abolition of slavery was founded at Philadelphia in 1774 by an "enlightened" physician, Dr. Benjamin Rush; and many "enlightened" fathers of the American Revolution, such as Washington and Jefferson, while owning slaves themselves, expressed antipathy to the institution of slavery and hope that it would soon disappear.<sup>2</sup> In England, an *Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* by a certain Thomas Clarkson, published in 1786, attracted wide attention and led in the following year to the formation of an active anti-slavery committee under the able leadership of William Wilberforce (1759-1833), an "evangelical" Anglican, member of Parliament, and intimate friend of William Pitt. In France, a "Society of Friends of the Blacks" was inaugurated for like purposes in 1788; it counted among its members Condorcet, Lafayette, and other intellectuals of the upper and middle classes. The first country actually to prohibit commerce in slaves was Denmark (1792).

Humanitarian motives were likewise in back of the eighteenth-century movements for popular education. Such "enlightened" persons as Milton and Locke had already argued in England for what might be termed a national system of popular education, and early in the eighteenth century several religious groups undertook the establishment of "charity schools" for the grounding of poor children in elementary knowledge and "sober piety." Such were the "sunday schools" set up by Methodists and evangelical Anglicans; such were the day schools founded in England by the

**Demand  
for Abolition  
of  
Negro  
Slavery**

**Demand  
for Popular  
Education**

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 86-87.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Franklin was prominent in the humanitarian anti-slavery movement: he became president of the Philadelphia society in 1787.

Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and in France by Jean Baptiste de la Salle and the Catholic congregation of Christian Brothers. To the efforts of pious Christians was soon added the inspiration of humanitarian deists. Rousseau in his *Émile* gave vogue, as we have seen, to claims of "natural" and popular education. Herder gave impetus to the utilitarian reformation of German schools. Pestalozzi (1746-1827), a professional Swiss educator, gave practical demonstrations of how lower-class persons might interestingly and profitably be schooled.

To the very end of the eighteenth century, the masses in all European countries remained largely illiterate. Yet, thanks to the influences which we have indicated, there was already a widespread conviction among intellectuals that schooling should not be a privilege of the few but a right of the many, and that it should be not academic or primarily religious but useful and "enlightening." Already in the eighteenth century were implanted the roots of the great national systems of education whose mighty fruitage in the nineteenth century has constituted a most conspicuous consequence of the Intellectual Revolution. The "enlightened" Frederick the Great of Prussia decreed in 1763 that all children in his kingdom must attend school. The revolutionary Americans bestirred themselves in behalf of the new education. Thomas Jefferson in 1779, only three years after the Declaration of Independence, presented to the Virginia legislature a scheme of universal state schooling. The republican constitution of Massachusetts, as ratified in 1780, prescribed that "wisdom, and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them, especially the university at Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns." The French revolutionaries, as we shall presently see, were well-nigh unanimous in support of the same principle; they thought themselves specially "enlightened" and certainly they were markedly humanitarian.

Humanitarianism was exemplified likewise in the simultaneous development of movements for international peace. Against the atrocities of the religious and political wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a pronounced reaction. Against the continuing destructiveness of the commercial and dynastic wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were numerous protests on the part of scholars and other "enlightened" individuals. Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist and religious liberal, penned his great treatise *On War and Peace*, the starting-point of modern international law, in the midst of the barbarities of the Thirty Years' War and in the hope that the recurrence of such barbarities might be prevented by an explicit statement of civilized usages.<sup>1</sup> William Penn, the English Quaker, at the height of the War of the League of Augsburg (King William's War) wrote his famous *Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe*, advocating the establishment of an international court of arbitration and the substitution of judicial for military procedure in the settlement of international disputes. The Abbé Saint Pierre, a French priest and member of the French Academy, put forth a *Project of Perpetual Peace* in 1713, at the conclusion of the vast War of the Spanish Succession: the project, which envisaged a kind of permanent league of nations, appealed to a considerable number of humanitarians and was followed, later in the eighteenth century, by similar projects from the pens of Rousseau, Bentham, and Kant.

**Demand  
for Inter-  
national  
Peace**

Underlying the definite peace-projects of the eighteenth century were two particular concepts and programmes of action which, though somewhat contradictory in tendency, sprang from a common humanitarian impulse of the age. One was the stressing of the idea that man is a social animal not only within a relatively small group but also in respect of his whole kind and species, that all men are brothers, and that the welfare of each is or should be the responsibility of all. Not since the days of the early Christians and the Stoical Marcus Aurelius had there been so much preaching of the principle of cosmopolitanism, so much decrying of narrow patriotism, and so much counselling of one's fellows to transcend local and group loyalties and to become "citizens of the world,"

**The Cos-  
mopolitan-  
ism of the  
"Enlight-  
enment"**

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 274-275.



devoted to the progress and peace of humanity at large. "No more," said Rousseau, "are there Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, or even Englishmen; there are only Europeans. All have the same tastes, the same passions, the same customs." "Love of country," said Lessing, "is at best but an heroic vice, which I am quite content to be without." "The world is my country," said Thomas Paine, "mankind are my brothers." Nor was such cosmopolitanism merely a matter of words and gestures. At the very time when France and England were fighting to the death in America and India and on the high seas, and when France was warring in Germany against Maria Theresa or against Frederick the Great, English and French intellectuals were hobnobbing with one another, Voltaire and Rousseau being lionized in London and Gibbon and Adam Smith and Benjamin Franklin in Paris, and "enlightened" Germans like Frederick the Great were trying to be truly French in speech and thought.

At the same time, as immediate means to the ultimate end, a second concept and programme of action received emphatic endorsement. It was nationalism. For many eighteenth-century intellectuals were nationalist as well as humanitarian. They were enormously interested not only in humanity at large but in special "primitive" manifestations of humanity, which they perceived in the savage tribes of America, in the strange peoples of the Orient, and also in the more or less fanciful aborigines of the civilized nationalities of Europe. Whence they fell to speculating on the similarities and contrasts between "peoples" or "nationalities"; and the more they speculated, the more they convinced themselves that nationalities are fundamental units of human society and the most natural agencies for effecting needful reforms and promoting human progress and peace. And this nationalist tendency was reinforced by the contemporary vogue of classicism, which, as one of its characteristics, pointed its devotees to the "republican virtue" and altruistic patriotism of ancient Greece and Rome. Frederick the Great at one moment could boast of his cosmopolitanism, and at the next moment could indite a Greek dialogue (in the French language) in order to show his German subjects why and how they should be supremely patriotic to Prussia. Rousseau, while affirming that all men were equal, urged each nationality to cherish its peculiar traditions and to strive for an

**The Nationalism of the "Enlightenment"**

independent polity. Herder, one of the most enlightened and humanitarian men of the century, devoted the greater part of his voluminous writings to praise of the principle of nationality.

Some of the new nationalism was purely cultural. But some of it, and from Rousseau's time a rapidly growing proportion, was definitely political. This type of nationalism recognized the "right" of national self-determination, the "right" of individuals to determine the sovereign state to which they would belong and the form of government under which they would live. It was argued that, if this right were fully established, not only would local and group loyalties be merged in a higher, more inclusive, and more rational loyalty to the nation, but each sovereign state, becoming a truly national state, would be emancipated from the dynastic and class bonds which had hitherto weighed upon it and distressed it. It would be enabled to care equally for all its citizens and thereby to confer inestimable benefits upon mankind. To warlike rivalry among the despots would succeed a rivalry in good works among free nations. Nationalism, as well as cosmopolitanism, was to be a mark, we shall presently see, of the French Revolution at the close of the eighteenth century.

#### 5. FRUITS OF CLASSICISM AND SEEDS OF ROMANTICISM

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while revolutionary changes were occurring in natural science and philosophy and while the development of the social sciences was stimulating a variety of "reform" movements in politics and economics, one outstanding characteristic of the intellectual life of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries remained fairly constant. This was classicism, the respect and veneration of most European intellectuals for the "classics" of ancient Rome and Greece.

Survival  
of Classi-  
cism

Elsewhere we have explained how these classics were revived and have pointed out what were some of the sixteenth-century effects of the classical revival, especially in education and in art and literature.<sup>1</sup> Here we must emphasize the fact that classicism continued to dominate education, art, and literature throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and to characterize the whole "Enlightenment." Almost every "enlightened" person of the newer age entertained an excessive predilection for

<sup>1</sup> See above, ch. iii.

classical antiquity and, like the earlier humanists, could see no good in the culture of the middle ages. Oliver Goldsmith ascribed Dante's reputation to his obscurity and the barbarous times in which he lived. Voltaire referred to Gothic art as "what unhappily remains of the architecture of those times." Even Rousseau denounced the medieval cathedrals as "a disgrace to those who had the patience to build them."

To understand the spell which Greek and Roman antiquity cast over the men of the Enlightenment, it is necessary to remember that these men were the immediate successors of the "humanists," that they were the direct heirs of the humanist movement, which was represented as ushering the world out of the ignorance and superstition of the middle ages and into the knowledge and reason of modern times. If the men of the Enlightenment were reasonable and scientific—and they were quite sure that they were—it was because the preceding humanists had taught them valuable lessons from pre-Christian Greece and Rome.

There may be some difference of opinion about the value of so-called "classical education," but there can be no doubt that all intellectuals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had such an education. All the universities in Europe, all the secondary schools, whether conducted by disciples of John Calvin, Martin Luther, or Ignatius Loyola, regarded the Latin and Greek classics as the very core of their curricula.

Certain fruits were obvious. Anyone who aspired to be thought of as "enlightened" could and normally did interlard his writing and conversation with classical allusions. The most estimable speakers in the British parliament were those who most consciously modelled their discourses after Demosthenes or Cicero and lugged in classical phrases and elaborate metaphors reminiscent of Homer or Virgil. It was similar with preachers, with letter writers, with essayists, with scholars. Such a highly "enlightened" despot as Frederick the Great indited dialogues in form and content as he had been taught that Plato or Socrates might have indited them. On the other hand, such "enlightened" democrats as the leaders of the American and French Revolutions were prone to display their classical training by assuming

Cato-like attitudes and hurling Brutus-like anathemas against tyrants.

The influence of classicism upon art and literature was profound and abiding. Indeed, the dominant art of the seventeenth century and of the greater part of the eighteenth century was essentially a continuation of the renaissance art of the sixteenth century.

**Classicism  
in the Art  
of the Sev-  
enteenth  
and  
Eighteenth  
Centuries**

The word "baroque" has commonly been employed to designate the classicist architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Baroque architecture was patterned after that of ancient Rome, but it was far more exuberant in decoration. Its origins are traceable to such sixteenth-century Italian masters as Michelangelo and Palladio,<sup>1</sup> and its most renowned seventeenth-century exponent was the Italian Bernini (1598-1680). Bernini, a native of Naples, lived most of his life at Rome in the service of successive popes<sup>2</sup> and was equally distinguished in architecture and sculpture. He designed the colonnade and square in front of St. Peter's, erected the Barberini palace, and executed the celebrated statue of St. Theresa. His canopy over the high altar of St. Peter's, with its twisted and floriated columns, its crown of consoles and its bronze hangings, is a striking example of that ornate adaptation of classical models which is styled "baroque."

**Baroque  
Architec-  
ture**

**In Italy:  
Bernini**

Taking its rise in Italy, the baroque style soon spread widely. It was employed so much for Jesuit churches that it is sometimes called the "Jesuit" style, but it was employed for other kinds of churches and for palaces too. Usually in baroque churches, spacious naves are flanked by chapels or by two narrow aisles and supported by decorative pilasters; ornamented domes or cupolas are conspicuous; walls gleam with colored marbles and altars glisten with gilt. In baroque palaces, special importance was attached to the principal doorway, entrance, and stairway, but much effort was expended on enriching the whole interior with brocades and tapestries and the splendor of metals. From palaces and churches, the baroque style was carried on and applied to theatres, colleges, tombs, and finally to vast conceptions of entire open squares and parks and the perspective of streets, with stairways, colonnades, and fountains.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 112, 115.

<sup>2</sup> Urban VIII, Alexander VII, and Innocent XI.

In Spain baroque architecture, exemplified most perfectly perhaps by the Jesuit college and church at Salamanca, underwent an interesting development at the hands of Churriguera (1650-1725). Churriguera, while adhering to classical models, proceeded to invest his buildings with a delicate airy ornamentation reminiscent of medieval Gothic. The resulting type of baroque architecture, almost fantastically decorative—the so-called “churrigueresque”—was employed in the eighteenth century for numerous churches in Spain and in Spanish America.

In France, baroque was even more extensively used—for churches, palaces, castles, and ornamental parks—but it was more restrained, more in keeping with classical usage. Famous as monuments of French baroque are the palace of the Luxembourg, built for Queen Marie de' Medici; the palace and library of Cardinal Mazarin (now the seat of the French Academy); the Invalides, constructed with its imposing dome, under the auspices of Louis XIV, as a hospice for old soldiers; and especially the royal palace and gardens at Versailles, on the construction of which the foremost architects of the day were engaged.<sup>1</sup> Two of these, N. F. Mansart (1598-1666) and J. H. Mansart (1646-1708), father and son, contributed the name of “mansardes” to the sloping roofs with upright windows which they devised to interrupt the straight lines of their buildings and to make the top storeys more habitable.

**Rococo Architecture** Later, in the eighteenth century, during the reign of Louis XV, French baroque assumed a freer, less strictly classical form. Curves were multiplied, and the elaborate use of delicate shell-like ornamentation earned it the special designation of “rococo.”

Baroque was much employed in Germany, the Netherlands, and Poland. Especially at Vienna and in the towns of southern Germany and of Poland it took a warm grandiose form, full of movement in the Roman manner. In northern Germany and the Netherlands it was more imitative of French baroque; and Frederick the Great's palace of Sans Souci at Potsdam was a rococo echo of Louis XIV's palace at Versailles. Into Russia, baroque architecture penetrated, modifying the traditional Byzantine types. Peter the Great

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 293.

and his eighteenth-century successors, anxious to westernize and "enlighten" Russia, filled the newly founded city of St. Petersburg with classical domes and columns and baroque decorations.<sup>1</sup>

In England, an early example of similar baroque adaptation of classical architecture was furnished by Inigo Jones in the royal banqueting hall which he built at Whitehall for James I in 1619. Then, after a great fire had swept London in 1666, Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723), a distinguished mathematician and classical scholar, and a book-taught architect, replaced many a destroyed Gothic edifice with a stately classical pile. Wren designed a profusion of Anglican churches; his masterpiece was St. Paul's cathedral, constructed between 1668 and 1710. Classical baroque influences were also apparent in the work of Vanbrugh (1666-1726), dramatist and courtier as well as architect; Vanbrugh's best known buildings were the magnificent Corinthian mansion of Castle Howard and the enormous palace for the duke of Marlborough at Blenheim.

Indeed, "classical" architecture was employed throughout the eighteenth century not only by British noblemen for their country seats and town residences, but also by British capitalists for banks and places of business. In America, "colonial" architecture usually displayed the simpler forms of classicism. George Washington's home at Mount Vernon and the plans which he approved for the capital city of the United States provided the foundation for what is now the dominant "classical" type of the public architecture of the American nation.

In Europe, several architects about the middle of the eighteenth century began to react against the rococo and churrigueresque developments of baroque art and to turn from the grandiose models of antiquity to simpler classical models. The inspiration was still classical, but it was of a severer, less ornamental, supposedly "truer" classicism; it involved close imitation, rather than free adaptation, of ancient monuments. Examples of this latest "pure" phase of classicism are the royal palace at Madrid, begun about 1734, and particularly, in France in the last years of Louis XV and under Louis XVI, the palaces on the Place de la Concorde

**"Pure"  
Classicism  
in Archi-  
tecture**

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 371-372

(1755-1768), the Petit Trianon at Versailles (1762-1768), and Soufflot's masterly Panthéon (1757-1780).

As classicism dominated architecture, so a classically inspired elegance characterized the house furnishings and the personal adornments of polite society. Particularly in the eighteenth century, prior to the French Revolution, every lady and every gentleman strove for an environment and an appearance of studied elegance. It was the age of crystal chandeliers and flashing mirrors, of graceful mahogany furniture<sup>1</sup> and delicately patterned porcelain from Sèvres or Dresden or from the Wedgwood factories in England. It was the age of perfumes and laces and exquisite silks. It was the age when gentlemen wore curly wigs and silk stockings and knee breeches in sensitive pastel shades, when ladies appeared with towering wigs of powdered hair, with little patches of court plaster on cheek or forehead, with wasp waists and billowing skirts, with falling flounces and graceful high-heeled slippers. It was the age, too, when Lord Chesterfield (1694-1773) wrote the famous *Letters to his Son*, explaining with wit and polish that essential morals are identical with external graces of manner; when the rascally Italian adventurers Casanova (1725-1798) and Cagliostro (1743-1795) acquired international fame by the very elegance of their knavery; when "Beau" Brummel was becoming the prince of fops and the chum of George III's rakish son and heir. At Versailles and at all the other European courts which sedulously aped Versailles, the courtiers who danced the minuet and who accompanied their graceful bows with nicely worded compliments were surely as devoted to what they thought was classical as any architect or sculptor.

The art of painting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was perhaps less affected by classicism than architecture and sculpture. Yet classical subjects were favorites with many a painter during the Enlightenment, and baroque classicism was as strikingly exemplified in Rubens's canvases as in Bernini's tombs and altar-pieces. Rubens

<sup>1</sup> The eighteenth century was a "classical" period for cabinet-makers. It gave us, in France, the "styles" of Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI, and in England the "styles" of certain master craftsmen: Thomas Chippendale (1718-1779), Robert Adam (1728-1792), George Hepplewhite (d. 1786), and Thomas Sheraton (1751-1806).

(1577-1640), a native of the Spanish (Belgian) Netherlands and the most celebrated painter in the first half of the seventeenth century, developed his art as a profitable business, employing a number of student-assistants and accepting numerous commissions from such patrons as Henry IV and Marie de' Medici of France and James I of England. The 2,200 huge compositions which issued from Rubens's workshop, whether pagan or Christian or merely regal in subject, were quite baroque in manner, sensual and colorful and richly decorative. Rubens was the greatest of the "Flemish" painters.

**Rubens**

As Italy had been the centre of the greatest painting in the sixteenth century, so the Netherlands and Spain produced the most remarkable painters of the seventeenth century.

Among those who in some degree were under classical influence—in addition to Rubens—were Van Dyck, Velasquez, and Murillo. Van Dyck (1599-1641), a Netherlander, who loved the refinement and distinction of palaces and the doublets and satin shoes of courtiers, and who lived in England more than in his native land, painted elegant portraits of Netherlandish nobles, French princes, and especially the English monarchs James I and Charles I and their families.

**In the  
Nether-  
lands and  
Spain**

Velasquez (1599-1660), court painter to Philip IV of Spain, was a master of "realist" portraiture. His *Surrender of Breda*,<sup>1</sup> his *Equestrian Portrait of Don Carlos*, and his *Maids of Honor* are particularly celebrated, and of his numerous portraits of Philip IV twenty-six are extant. All his canvases are enveloped in soft light of exquisite delicacy. Murillo (1617-1682), at first famed for popular pictures of beggar-boys and other low-life subjects, became the exemplar of sentimental religious devotion; his *Immaculate Conception*, with its mysterious vaporous effect, and his *Saint Anthony* set the style for religious painting in many a baroque church.

**Van Dyck,  
Velasquez,  
and  
Murillo**

In the eighteenth century, classical painting was chiefly exemplified in England and France. In England, it was a golden age of portrait-painters. Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) painted portraits in the "grand manner," such as *Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse* and *Miss Emily Potts as Thais*—actresses and court ladies and noblewomen of the day with a grandiose "classical" background. Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788)

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 266.



painted portraits in a lighter, airier, more vivacious manner; his *Blue Boy* and his numerous pictures of aristocratic ladies

“Classical”  
Portrait-  
Painting in  
Eighteenth-  
Century  
England

under their sweeping hats bespeak the grace and charm of that highly conventionalized society which fluttered in the eighteenth century about the parliamentary oligarchy of England as about the Bourbon court of France. Among other British portrait-painters of the age, mention should also be made of George

Romney (1734-1802), whose *Lady Hamilton* (Nelson’s enchantress) and *Perdita* (the actress mistress of George III’s heir) are acknowledged masterpieces. Especially should mention be made of Sir Henry Raeburn (1756-1823), one of the most “realistic” artists of the age and the painter of Scottish gentlemen. It may be added that two Americans who settled in London acquired enduring fame as first-rate portrait-painters: John Singleton Copley (1737-1815) and Benjamin West (1738-1820). The latter succeeded Reynolds as president of the Royal Academy.

In France the prevalent painting of the eighteenth century,<sup>1</sup> like the furniture and dances in the palace at Versailles, was grace-

Watteau  
and  
French  
Painting  
of the  
Eighteenth  
Century

ful, elegant, and decorative. Much of it was highly sophisticated and at times betrayed boredom. Watteau (1683-1721) inaugurated this type of “French” painting—Flemish in technique and charmingly decorative in effect. Afflicted with poverty and ill health, Watteau

adored elegant society and all the amenities of life, beautiful costumes, ceremonial gallantries. These things he was always portraying—in *The Conversation*, *The Concert*, *The Dance*, *Lady at her Toilet*, *Embarkation for Cythera*, etc.—becoming the unexcelled portrayer of the make-believe, the frivolous, the monotonously and rather pathetically gay. The decorative tradition of Watteau was continued by Boucher (1703-1770), court painter under Louis XV and portraitist of Madame de Pompadour; by Fragonard (1732-1806), a favorite with the French nobility; and by Greuze (1725-1805), whose sentimental “rustic” pictures appealed particularly to the bourgeoisie.

<sup>1</sup>French painting of the seventeenth century had been less renowned than that of Spain and the Netherlands, but it was distinguished by such strictly “classical” painters at the court of Louis XIV as Le Brun and Rigaud.

All the painters so far mentioned—and they were the most popular in their day—were deemed “classical.” From the baroque of Rubens to the grandiose portraits of Reynolds and the ornamental delicacy of Gainsborough and Boucher, the chief styles of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century painting bore more or less close relationship to parallel developments of “classicism” in architecture and sculpture, and in education and thought and taste. In the main, the exponents of these styles had a marked fondness for the formality and elegance which they thought were associated with ancient Greek and Roman art.

But there were other pictorial artists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who were more independent of classicism and who are more highly esteemed nowadays than they were in their own time. Among these were several “realistic” painters who flourished in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century and who were chiefly

Non-  
“Classical”  
Painting

concerned with almost photographic portrayal of the life of the common people about them. Jordaens (1593-1678) and David Teniers (1610-1690) depicted and embellished the life of middle class or peasantry, the country fairs, the urban carousals, the eating and drinking, the love-making and laughter. Frans Hals (1580-1666) presented more soberly the portraits of persons and the pictures of scenes that arrested his attention during his unhappy and unfortunate career—meetings of officers, of sharpshooters, of guildsmen, performances of itinerant players and singers. There were also Jan Vermeer of Delft (1632-1675), one of the most notable colorists of the age, and Jacob van Ruisdael (1635-1681), uniting poetic fancy with prosaic realism. From our present standpoint, however, the greatest of the Netherlandish painters was Rembrandt (1607-1669). Rembrandt lived a stormy and miserable life in the towns of Leyden and Amsterdam. A Protestant, though not an orthodox or ex-

“Realistic”  
Painting  
in the  
Netherlands

Rembrandt

emplary one, he stood outside of the main currents of classical art. Instead of finding conventional inspiration in pagan mythology or Christian sentimentality and employing fanciful decoration, he painted quite realistically the life of the people among whom he lived and the things which concerned them—lively portraits of contemporary burgomasters and popular amusements, delightful landscapes, and stern scenes from the Old

Testament. His *Lesson in Anatomy* and his *Night Watch*, in their sombre settings, are wonderfully realistic products of Rembrandt's mastery of the brush.

Rembrandt and his Dutch contemporaries represented one significant reaction against the dominant "classicism" in painting—a reaction toward "realism." Another kind of reaction against classicism was represented in England in the eighteenth century by William Hogarth (1697-1764), satirist and moralist and author of a treatise on art in opposition to the "classical" vogue. Hogarth's paintings and engravings, notably his *Rake's Progress*, *Marriage à la Mode*, and *Parliamentary Election*, expressed the growing critical spirit of the eighteenth century toward abuses in society and government. Somewhat similar satire was expressed, with finer workmanship, by Daniel Chodowiecki (1726-1801), a Polish engraver and painter who was long in the service of Frederick the Great of Prussia. But the most perfect examples of this kind of eighteenth-century art were furnished by Francisco Goya (1746-1828), a Spanish genius, at once realist and satirist, who proved to be a revolutionary—a combined Rousseau and Voltaire—in the realm of painting.

Goya was of peasant stock, strong, handsome, and quarrelsome, a radical in thought and behavior. He despised the conventions of society, hated the aristocracy, and detested the church and its clergy. It was doubtless because of Goya's sympathy with the revolutionary philosophy of the age that the "enlightened" king of Spain, Charles III, appointed him court painter, and in this post, not only under Charles III but under his half-witted successor Charles IV, Goya made the most of the wonderful opportunity afforded him to unmask the hypocrisy of the "old régime." Superficially Goya's style was sometimes reminiscent of Watteau's (which is probably why Goya was popular), but actually there was a great difference; Watteau fancifully idealized aristocrats, while Goya,

with equal art, suggested caricature by painting them precisely as they were. His *Charles IV on Horseback* is the most impudent portrait of royalty ever painted; it is the perfect picture of the divine-right monarch who is imbecile. In other famous portraits by Goya, Charles IV's queen appears as the brazen old courtesan she was; the Crown Prince (subsequently Ferdinand VII), as the sly, spiteful meddler he was; and the prime minister Godoy, as the nincompoop and panderer that he was.

Satire and "realism" were not the only evidences of reaction against the prevailing "classicism" in the pictorial arts. In the eighteenth century "naturalism" also appeared, deriving its inspiration from idealized nature rather than from conventionalized Greek and Roman art.

The New  
"Natural-  
ism" in  
Painting

This idealizing of "nature" was part and parcel of the Enlightenment. It was an expression of the new faith in natural law and natural rights, a reflection of the "new agriculture,"<sup>1</sup> and an accompaniment of the newly discovered beauty of natural men and natural scenery. It was associated with the growing interest of European intellectuals in the forests and redmen of the New World, and, even more, with the mounting enthusiasm of European connoisseurs for the strangely "natural"

art of the Chinese.<sup>2</sup> Chinese paintings, porcelains, lacquers, embroideries, wall-papers—a host of "chinoiseries"—were imported into Europe during the eighteenth century. For the housing of Chinese curiosities, Maria Theresa of Austria fitted up a "Chinese apartment" in her palace at Schönbrunn, Frederick the Great of Prussia built an "oriental pavilion" at Sans Souci, and the elector of Bavaria constructed a pagoda. Soon, European princes and nobles were laying out gardens in the "Chinese" manner and were expecting a "Chinese" touch in the works of European artists.

Chinese  
Influence

Much of the shell-like "rococo" art of the eighteenth century was in fact a more or less conscious imitation of Chinese art. A painter like Watteau, though belonging to the "classical" tradi-

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 465-469.

<sup>2</sup> There was also a growing fascination for Arabic culture. For example, the *Thousand and One Nights* were translated into French by Antoine Galland (1646-1715) and exerted great influence, especially on European literature.

tion, was obviously influenced by "Chinese" models; the gay doings of his festal figures were depicted against a fairy-story landscape which was suggestively Chinese in form and feeling. The pastoral mood, the impressionistic treatment of nature, the sophisticated "primitiveness" of Watteau and his successors were novel features of European art.

Among the "naturalist" painters, other than Watteau and his school, was Richard Wilson (1714-1782), the "father of British **"Nature" landscape."** At the very time when scientists were talking about natural laws, and philosophers were writing about natural rights, and gentlemen farmers were waxing enthusiastic about the profits of nature,—and when Rousseau was revelling in sunsets,—Wilson was seeing and showing the beauties of English nature, the rivers, the trees, and the fields. At the same time, Piranesi (1720-1778), an Italian etcher and engraver, was decorating his pictorial records of classical Roman remains with symbolic representations of the groves and streams and mountain crags of his own contemporary Italy.

All this newer pictorial art of the eighteenth century, whether treating of nature directly or through Chinese influence, was really revolutionary. It ushered in the romantic painting of the late eighteenth and of the nineteenth century. It was part of the transition from "classicism" to "romanticism."

In the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, "classicism" was dominant. The use of the Latin language for literary expression steadily declined, it is true, but the rising flood of vernacular literatures continued to be freighted with much of the form and content of classical Latin (and Greek) literature.

"Classicism" in the seventeenth century took a baroque form in literature, as in architecture and painting. At its best the literary baroque meant a studious, decorative style of writing; at its worst it involved affectation, bombast, highflown metaphors, and, in general, poverty of content cloaked under exuberance of forms. These latter qualities characterized much of the seventeenth-century literature of Italy, Germany, and Spain and rendered it far less noteworthy than the sixteenth-century literature of the same countries.

The outstanding literary man of the age in Germany was Martin Opitz (1597-1639), who slavishly employed for German poetry every form of classical poetry—the ode of Horace, the drama of Seneca, and the epic and bucolic of Virgil—and whose *Book of German Poetry* (1624), with its rigid rules, consigned German literature for a century to imitative dullness and steady decay.

Opitz and  
"Classical"  
Literature  
in  
Germany

Spanish literature of the seventeenth century was better, for it included mystical writing of considerable originality, some interesting picaresque novels, and the popular dramas and allegorical poems of Calderon (1600-1681). But Spanish literature fell short of the earlier promise of Cervantes and Lope de Vega and was increasingly marred by artificiality.

Calderon  
and  
Spanish  
Literary  
"Classicism"

Italian literature, resplendent in the sixteenth century, seemed thoroughly decadent in the seventeenth. In 1690 a group of Italian writers, intent upon purifying the baroque of its artificiality and over-ornamentation, formed the "academy of Arcadia" and undertook to imitate the simplicity of classical shepherds,<sup>1</sup> but they succeeded only in directing the main currents of Italian literature from bombast into effeminacy, the grandiose into the petty, the turgid into the over-refined. Most Italian literature of the eighteenth century was as "precious," and as unsubstantial, as a painting by Greuze or a minuet at the court of Louis XV.

Decadence  
of Italian  
Literature

Baroque literature at its best flourished not in Italy, Spain, or Germany, but in France and England. In France, the best traditions of classicism were cherished and adapted by a group of geniuses and were so fostered and patronized by the Grand Monarch as to render the age of Louis XIV the golden age—the classical age—of French letters. It should be recalled<sup>2</sup> that it was the heyday of such distinguished French writers as Corneille (1606-1684); Molière (1622-1673);<sup>3</sup> Racine (1639-1699); Madame de

The  
Golden  
"Classical"  
Age  
of French  
Literature

<sup>1</sup> Comparable in intent, but not in achievement, with the development in painting which Watteau was then championing.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> Molière was not "classicist," like Corneille and Racine; he was rather a French Shakespeare—realist and profoundly psychological. He belongs only chronologically to the "classical" age.

Sévigné (1626-1696); La Fontaine (1621-1695); and many another literary light of lasting brilliance. No wonder that, as the armies of Louis XIV fought over the Continent, the literature of France became the prized possession of all Europe and the model for a vast output of literature in divers languages. In Germany, for example, it became fashionable to use the French language and to read French literature in the original. Gottsched, the leading German writer in the first half of the eighteenth century, insisted that if there was to be any German literature, it must be in imitation of French classicism.

The richest and most perfect instance of the studious, decorative baroque was supplied in England by John Milton (1608-1674), the contemporary of Corneille. Milton, at once puritan and classicist, won a position in literature comparable with that of Shakespeare. Then, under Charles II and James II, English contacts with France served to reënforce the classicism of Milton and to inspire in England the so-called "Restoration" literature, whose foremost exponent was John Dryden (1631-1700). In Alexander Pope (1688-1744) classicism reached its acme in English poetry; the wit, point, and lucidity of his verse, combined with his powers of satire and his sympathy with the new metaphysics of natural science, made him the supreme poet of the eighteenth century.

The eighteenth century was a period of great prose, however, rather than of great poetry. It was a time when literary men, like other intellectuals, were "enlightened," when they were obsessed with natural science not only, but with social science, with humanitarianism, and with criticism of existing institutions and usages. The "enlightened" literary men found prose a more convenient and pliable medium than poetry for exposition and criticism, but the prose which they employed—the most characteristic eighteenth-century prose—showed unmistakable evidence of classical background. It was formal and elaborate, ornamented and polished, graced with flowing balanced sentences and adorned with classical allusions.

Among the masters of "classical" English prose may be mentioned several writers who have already been discussed in other connections: John Locke, the political philosopher; Edward

Great  
"Classi-  
cal" Liter-  
ature in  
England:  
Milton,  
Dryden,  
and Pope

The  
Eighteenth  
Century a  
Century of  
"Classi-  
cal"  
Prose

Gibbon and David Hume, the historians; Samuel Johnson, the lexicographer; Adam Smith, the economist; Blackstone, the jurist; Lord Chesterfield, the moralist. To this number may be added Lord Bolingbroke, Tory politician and deist philosopher, and Edmund Burke, Whig orator and traditionalist pamphleteer. But perhaps the supreme, and certainly the most original, use of eighteenth-century English prose was for a new type of literature—the novel.

It was in the eighteenth century that the English novel arose, a new and subsequently favorite kind of literature, the long-winded description and rather chaotic analysis of human life and love and behavior (as opposed to the earlier romance of adventure). The roots of the English novel lay in the character studies of Joseph Addison (1672–1719), in the journalistic stories of Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), and in the satirical tales of Jonathan Swift (1667–1745). Whence proceeded the extraordinary work of four eighteenth-century British novelists: Samuel Richardson (1689–1761), the sentimental, “evangelical,” and somewhat priggish author of *Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa* (1748); Henry Fielding (1707–1754), the acute and tolerant delineator of contemporary manners, whose *Tom Jones* appeared in 1749; George Smollett (1721–1771), the caustic author of *Roderick Random* and *Humphrey Clinker*; and Laurence Sterne (1713–1768), antiquarian and humorist, creator of *Tristram Shandy*. All these English novelists were known and acclaimed on the Continent, as in Great Britain, and Richardson especially provided inspiration for a host of sentimental novels of which Rousseau’s *Éloise* and *Émile* and Goethe’s *Werther* are famous examples.

In France, there was an outpouring of prose literature in the eighteenth century similar to that in England. Voltaire, the most celebrated French littérateur of the age, imagined that his classical dramas constituted his greatest work, and he surely labored to make them faultlessly “classical” in form and content. But the plays and poems of Voltaire now seem dreadfully stilted and boring, and it is only the prose of his essays and histories which still lives and sparkles. With the prose of Voltaire must be coupled, as best in eighteenth-century French literature, the prose of Montesquieu, Diderot, Holbach, Raynal, and Rousseau, the *Gil Blas*

**The  
English  
Novel**

**French  
Literature  
in the  
Eighteenth  
Century**



of Le Sage, the *Manon Lescaut* of Abbé Prévost, the *Barber of Seville* and *Figaro* of Beaumarchais.

As the eighteenth century advanced, a purer "classicism" reappeared in Germany and Italy. In Germany its protagonist was Lessing (1729-1781), who lamented the dependence of German literature on French models and urged his countrymen to go direct to ancient Greece for the canons of their art. He set the example in his drama *Nathan der Weise* (1779), an interesting utilization of pure classicism for an "enlightened" deistic discussion of the relations between Jews and Christians.<sup>1</sup> In Italy, Alfieri (1749-1803) penned, in terse style and with fiery ardor, highly successful tragedies, drawn from antique sources and directed against contemporary tyranny. Alfieri, like Lessing, thought himself a "pure" classicist.

In literature, as in painting, the eighteenth century witnessed not only a movement toward "pure classicism" but also a movement in the opposite direction—a "romantic" tendency to ignore classicism altogether and to seek models in natural scenery, in supposedly primitive life, in folk customs. This meant, in literature as in painting, a revolt or reaction against the long dominant renaissance, against the worship of classical art. Romanticism was not to reach fruition and affect all arts until the nineteenth century,<sup>2</sup> but its seeds were implanted in the eighteenth century and already in this century its germination was clear in certain arts. Architecture and sculpture were least affected by it, but the landscapes of Wilson and Piranesi and the pastoral moods of the eighteenth-century French "school" heralded its appearance, as we have seen, in painting. It was, however, in literature that romanticism gained an even sturdier growth, and especially in English literature.

In Great Britain, romantic love of natural beauty was expressed by James Thomson in his *Seasons* (1726). Romantic predilection for lowly scenes and simple emotions was voiced in the ballads of Thomas Gray, particularly in his *Elegy* (1750). Romantic fondness for "primitive" folk-legends was stimulated by the *Reliques of Ancient English*

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 531.

<sup>2</sup> For later developments, see below, pp. 738-751.

*Poetry* which the Anglican Bishop Thomas Percy collected and published in 1765, and by the poems of "Ossian" which the school-teacher James Macpherson invented and published, also in 1765, as translations from a pretended Scottish bard of the third century.

Ossian

"Ossian," in particular, created a great sensation all over Europe, and very soon numerous literary men were seeking inspiration for their poetry and prose, not in the conventional classic qualities of civilized Greeks and Romans, but in the "naturalness" and "quaintness," the "simplicity" and "virtue," of primitive peoples and ordinary peasants. Something like a literary revolution began.

In Great Britain, romanticism inspired new types of poetry. There was the homely, dialect verse of Robert Burns (1759-1796); the strange and stirring "medieval" verse of Thomas Chatterton (1752-1770); the enthusiastically humanitarian verse of William Cowper (1731-1800). All these types were far removed from the classical poetry of Alexander Pope.

In the meantime, romanticism was entering Germany. Here, in something of a revolt against national dependence on French classicism, several writers turned to England for counter-inspiration. Shakespeare was studied; Milton was praised and imitated; and, most portentous of all,

In  
Germany

"Ossian" and Percy's *Reliques* were translated and extolled. If England could have a truly national literature and cherish her own folk poetry, why not Germany? Klopstock (1724-

Klopstock

1803) replied that Germany could, and, to show the faith that was in him, he wrote an epic in imitation of Milton and odes in the manner of Macpherson. Lessing, too, came under the English spell and in his *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767) and *Emilia Galotti* (1772) inaugurated a national and romantic German drama. The foremost apostle of romanticism in Germany, however, was Herder (1744-1803): he knew

Herder

Ossian by heart, he admired Rousseau, he combined pietism with humanitarianism in just the right proportion to make him a zealous and untiring advocate of folk lore, folk literature, and folk customs. Herder not only published German folk songs of earlier ages (1778) but exerted a decisive influence on younger literary men, notably Goethe (1749-1832) and Schiller (1759-1805). Goethe's play

Goethe  
and  
Schiller

*Götz von Berlichingen* (1771) and his novel *The Sorrows of Werther* (1774) were thoroughly romantic. Likewise, Schiller's first important drama, *The Robbers* (1781), was essentially romantic.

Romanticism did not completely dominate German literature. Lessing, as we have seen, soon turned from romantic English models to the "pure classicism" of the ancient Greeks. **A New Great Age of German Literature** Goethe, during a sojourn in Italy, completed *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (1787), the first masterpiece of his "Greek" period, and in the same year Schiller wrote *Don Carlos*, with due attention to classical traditions of form. Yet by the end of the eighteenth century Germany, for the first time since the middle ages, could boast of a living and really great German literature. And this fact is attributable to the seed of romanticism as well as to the fruit of classicism.

In eighteenth-century France, the dominant literary tradition remained classical. There had been too much great classical literature in the age of Louis XIV. **The Hold of the "Classical" Tradition on France** Voltaire was now too authoritative and too classicist, the French language and traditional French literature were still too widely esteemed by foreigners, to admit of a revolution in French letters. Rousseau, it is true, was quite romantic, and so were the plays of Beaumarchais. But the Great French Revolution of 1789 was provided with a literary setting which, while very "enlightened" in outlook and very Rousseau-like in content, was heroically classical in form. The Revolutionaries, in oration and proclamation, must constantly invoke, not the romantic traditions of early Frenchmen, but the republican virtues of classical Greece and Rome. Only in the nineteenth century did the seed of romanticism take lusty root in France and other Latin countries.

Musical art developed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries parallel with literature, painting, and architecture. **Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries** Throughout the seventeenth century Italy remained the most fashionable centre of Europe's music, and just as Italy in the sixteenth century had given vogue to polyphony,<sup>1</sup> so now in the seventeenth century Italy created the fashion of opera. And the new Italian opera, being the dramatic use of music for emotional tragedy, usually

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 117-118.

on a classical theme, partook of the baroque quality which characterized contemporary architecture in Italy.

The first master of tragic "classical" opera was Claudio Monteverde (1568-1643), whose *Orfeo* and *Arianna* were produced at Venice early in the seventeenth century. Quickly opera became popular throughout the peninsula. At Venice three opera-houses were opened in the decade of the 1630's, and over 350 different operas were produced between 1630 and 1700. It was similar at Bologna, at Naples, and at Rome. Operas were performed in convents, and Pope Clement IX wrote an opera. At Naples, at the close of the century, flourished Alessandro Scarlatti (1659-1725), the most esteemed composer of the age, who wrote 125 operas and 500 cantatas, besides oratorios and masses, all quite baroque.

From Italy, the opera spread to France and England. Lully (1632-1687), a native of Florence, was brought to Paris in 1643. Here he coöperated with Molière and won the favor of Louis XIV, so that Lully's classical operas, together with his ballets and divertissements, constituted the musical mode at the court of the Grand Monarch. In England, Henry Purcell (1659-1695), organist of Westminster Abbey, and chief musician at the court of Charles II and James II, composed the opera of *Dido and Æneas* in 1680; six years later, he established an English opera-house, and in 1691 collaborated with Dryden in writing the opera of *King Arthur*.

To Germany, too, the vogue of Italian opera spread. One of its first German exponents was George Frederick Handel (1685-1759), who, after writing operas for the Hamburg stage and sojourning for three years in Italy as court musician to the Medici of Florence, became a pensioner of the Elector George of Hanover. Then, when this prince succeeded to the throne of Great Britain as George I, Handel was established in London as successor to Purcell. He turned Covent Garden into an opera-house (which it still is), and for it he wrote extensively. In addition to operas, Handel composed sonatas, concertos, and famous oratorios, including the *Messiah*. Handel wrote always for the world, the court, or the stage; his music was brilliantly baroque; and when he died he was buried in Westminster Abbey with befitting pomp.

"Classical"  
Opera in  
Italy

Opera in  
France  
and  
England

Opera in  
Germany:  
Handel

In the meantime, the seventeenth century had witnessed a marked development of oratorio music, and also of instrumental music. While the piano was developing in France, the violin was being perfected in Italy. The Amati and Stradivari, famous Italian families of violin-makers, lived in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Early in the eighteenth century appeared one of the greatest masters of organ music which the world has known, Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750). Born of a German family of professional musicians, Bach grew up to be pious and humble, a good bourgeois and family man, the father of twenty children. As organist at Weimar and at Leipzig, he knew little of what went on in the world of affairs, but, introspective and conscientious, he turned out in the course of his every-day work a vast number of chorales and fugues, sonatas and concertos (and four masses for the elector of Saxony), all majestic and mystical, other-worldly and sublime.

It was left for subsequent generations to appreciate Bach. In his own day, he was not popular. His deeply religious feeling, his constant awareness of the supernatural were alien to the Age of Enlightenment and likewise to the frivolous courtiers who ornamented the age. Courtiers preferred the classical pomp of Handel or the graceful measures of a French contemporary of Bach, Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764). Rameau was official musician at the court of Louis XV; he continued the classical tradition of Lully, but he diverted it into a kind of rococo; he affected a pastoral mood, in imitation of nature, and he composed formal dances that went well with the pictures of Greuze and the porcelains of Sèvres. Rameau was very popular in court circles and was ennobled just before his death. Like many of his patrons, he probably had more taste than genius.

Of equal taste with Rameau, but of greater genius, was Christoph Gluck (1714-1787), a native of the German Palatinate, who after sojourning successively in Vienna, Milan, and London, and being knighted by the pope, settled at Paris and enjoyed the patronage, first of Louis XV and Madame du Barry, and then of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. Gluck reformed the classical opera, which

was becoming excessively histrionic and was being threatened with extinction by the contemporaneous rise of "comic opera."<sup>1</sup> He made his operas, such as *Alceste*, *Orfeo*, and *Iphigénie*, quite Greek in scene and subject, and the notably lyrical quality with which he invested them represented his effort to establish a "pure classicism" in music, as Soufflot was attempting to do in architecture or Lessing and Alfieri in literature.

The supreme musician of the eighteenth century, however, was Mozart (1756-1791). Of a musically gifted family, he was a prodigy in youth and manhood; his brief life was all music. He wrote 200 works before he was eighteen, and when he died at the age of thirty-five he left more than 600 compositions. And what compositions they were!—symphonies, sonatas, quartets, chamber music, a majestic requiem Mass, and a series of world famous operas, including the *Marriage of Figaro* (1785), *Don Giovanni* (1787), and the *Magic Flute* (1791)—all imaginative, with ineffable grace and charm. Here was the finest taste combined with the highest genius.

**Mozart,  
the Musical  
Genius  
of the  
Eighteenth  
Century**

In Mozart the best features of the whole musical development of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were synthesized, with consummate art and great originality. For, Mozart not only drew on the past; he was an innovator and pointed to the future. He was at once heir to the gayety of classical Italy and France and father of the profundity of the later German school. It was Mozart who really founded German opera. There had already been other great German composers, but Bach was hidden in his organ-loft, while Handel expatriated himself to England, and Gluck to France. Mozart was born and died in German Austria, and Mozart exerted decisive influence on both Haydn and Beethoven, whose principal works were to be produced in the age of the French Revolution and Napoleon and to distinguish, in the sphere of musical art, the age of full-fledged romanticism.

**A New  
Great Age  
of German  
Music**

<sup>1</sup> Comic opera, as distinct from serious "grand" opera, originated in Italy early in the eighteenth century, and there, as "opera buffa," it was extremely popular throughout the century. In France, it developed at first in the provinces, notably in connection with country fairs; later, in 1752, the Opéra Comique was founded at Paris. The pretty popular music of comic opera represented a reaction against the classicism of Lully and Rameau, and, though viewed with some contempt by polite society, its popularity tended to influence the composers of grand opera.

From the high-noon of classicism to the dawn of romanticism, such is the broad generalization which can be made of the significance of the artistic developments which in music, literature, painting, and architecture attended the Intellectual Revolution of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Just as the Intellectual Revolution reached its culminating political and social expression in the French Revolution at the close of the eighteenth century, so the attendant artistic developments reached fruition in the flowering of romanticism at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

To the French Revolution, and its reverberations throughout Europe and overseas, we shall now give heed.



## CHAPTER XII

### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

#### I. ANTECEDENT CONDITIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES



ACTUAL social and political conditions in the eighteenth century did not square, anywhere in Europe, with the newer philosophy and science which we have just described. European intellectuals of the eighteenth century

Contrast between Theory and Practice in Eighteenth-Century Europe

lived in an age of "enlightenment." They believed in "reason" and "progress." They looked forward, not backward, and contemned whatever seemed merely historical or traditional. They were sceptical of supernatural religion, critical of divine-right monarchy, doubtful of time-honored social institutions and customs.

Yet, despite this attitude of a growing number of intellectuals, the masses all over Europe continued to live within a framework of social and political and ecclesiastical usages which derived from earlier times and which were not essentially different in the eighteenth century from what they had been in the sixteenth century. Despite the development of national patriotism and the emergence of the doctrines of national unity and national self-determination, no state in Europe was as yet strictly national; the king of France still treated his realm as an agglomeration of personal and family possessions and addressed his subjects, not as the French nation, but as "my peoples." Despite the vogue of doctrines of popular sovereignty and recent political revolutions in Great Britain and America, absolute divine-right monarchy was still the rule all over the Continent, whether in the "empires" of Austria, Turkey, and Russia, or in the kingdoms of France, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Sweden, or in the petty principalities of Germany and Italy; the word of the "sovereign" was law. Despite the growth of religious scepticism and the beginnings of religious toleration, state-churches were still a well-nigh uni-

The "Old Régime" in Politics



versal institution; the Anglican church of England and the Lutheran church of Sweden, no less than the Catholic churches of France and Spain, were adjuncts of political government in their respective countries, attended by the world of fashion as well as by peasants, monopolizing public education as well as public charity, and supported by compulsory taxation. ~~Despite the contemporaneous preaching of humanitarianism, the slave-trade still flourished under legal protection, and dynastic and commercial wars were still waged with lengthening duration and greater destructiveness.~~

Despite the ever louder chorus in praise of "noble savages" and "primitive" equality, the social structure of Europe still retained the class character which had marked it from **The "Old Régime" in Society** time immemorial. There were still the classes of royalty, nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie, artisans, and peasants which had been established and sanctified centuries ago. Every individual was still born to a particular "class," or as the current phrase went, to "the station to which God had called him"; and the questioning of the fundamental divine nature of class distinctions, if allowable to Rousseau or some other advanced intellectual, seemed a silly or downright blasphemous occupation for common people.

~~In the eighteenth, as in the sixteenth century, the mass of Europeans were peasants,~~ engaged in agriculture. Most of them lived and worked in much the same manner, and their social status was much the same. Wherever a traveller chanced to be on the Continent, in France or in Germany, he might still see the numerous little agricultural villages and manor-houses nestling among the hills or dotting the plains, surrounded by green fields and fringed with forest or waste land. The simple villagers still cultivated their strips in the common fields in the time-honored way, working hard for meagre returns. A third of the land stood idle every year. It often took a whole day merely to scratch the surface of a single acre with the rude wooden plough then in use. Cattle were killed off in the autumn for want of good hay. Fertilizers were only crudely applied, if at all. Many a humble peasant was content if his bushel of seed brought him three bushels of grain, and was proud if his fatted ox weighed over four hundred pounds.

As we have seen, there were some enterprising and prosperous

landowners who used newer and better methods, and even wrote books about "husbandry," as agriculture was called. Especially in Great Britain, "gentlemen farmers" were effecting an agricultural revolution. They were getting rid of the old three-field and open-field systems. They were growing clover and "artificial grasses"—such as rye—for their cattle, cultivating turnips for winter fodder, tilling the soil more thoroughly, using fertilizers more diligently, and learning how to shift their crops from field to field according to a regular plan, so that the soil would not lose its fertility and would not have to lie idle or "fallow" every third year. Moreover, they were scientifically developing better breeds of domestic animals, and by the "enclosure" process they were transforming the medieval manorial system into the modern system of privately owned and operated estates, with agricultural laborers rather than with the earlier type of free tenants.<sup>1</sup>

These new methods were all very fine for "gentlemen farmers" in Great Britain, and for a few on the Continent who had the capital and ingenuity to imitate the British example. But on the Continent, generally, the old system was still too deeply entrenched; few nobles had the means or will to attempt any radical change in landholding or in agricultural method; and for the average peasant on the Continent, the traditional "open-field" system was an effective barrier to progress. He could not plant new crops on his strips in the grain fields, for custom forbade it. He could not breed his cows scientifically, while they ran in with the rest of the village cattle. At best he could only work hard and pray that his cows would not catch contagion from the rest, and that the weeds from his neighbor's wheat-patch might not spread into his own, for between such patches there was neither wall nor fence.

Primitive methods were not the only survivals of historic manorial life. Actual serfdom still prevailed in most of the countries of Europe except France<sup>2</sup> and England, and even in these countries nominal freedom lifted the peasantry but little in the economic scale. It is true, indeed, that countless differences in the degree and conditions

Plight of  
the  
Peasantry

Survival  
of  
Serfdom

<sup>1</sup> On the rise of "scientific" farming in Britain in the eighteenth century, see above, pp. 465-469.

<sup>2</sup> Even in France, some serfdom still survived.

of servitude existed between Russians and Frenchmen, and even between peasants in the same country or village. The English or French ploughman, perhaps, might not be commanded to marry an undesired bride, as were the tenants of a Russian nobleman. But in a general way we may say that all the peasants of Europe suffered from much the same disabilities. With no voice in making the laws, they were liable to heavy fines or capital punishment for breaking the laws. Their advice was not asked when taxes were levied or apportioned, but upon them fell the heaviest burdens.

It was vexatious to pay outrageous fees for the use of a lord's mill, bridge, oven, or wine-press, to be haled to court for an imaginary offense, or to work on the roads without pay. It was hard for the hungry serf to see the fat deer venturing into his very dooryard, and to remember that the master of the mansion house was so fond of the chase that he would not allow his game to be killed for food for vulgar ploughmen.

But these and similar vexations sank into insignificance in comparison with the burdens of the taxes paid to lord, to church, and to king. In every country of Europe the peasants were taxed, directly or indirectly, for the support of the three pillars of the "old régime." The form of such taxation in England differed widely from that in Hungary; in Sweden, from that in Spain. But beneath discrepancies of form, the system was essentially the same. Some idea of the triple taxation that everywhere bore so heavily upon the peasantry may be obtained from a brief résumé of the financial obligations of an ordinary French peasant to his king, his church, and his lord.

1) To the lord the serf might owe three days' labor a week, in addition to stated portions of grain and poultry. In place of servile work the freeman paid a "quit-rent," that is, a sum of money instead of the services which were considered to accompany the occupation of land. Double rent was paid on the death of the peasant, and, if the farm was sold, a fifth of the price went to the lord. Sometimes, however, a freeman held his land without quit-rent, but still had numerous obligations which had survived from medieval times, such as the annual sum paid for a "military protection" which he neither demanded nor received.

2) The second obligation was to the church—the tithe or tenth,

which usually amounted every year to a twelfth or a fifteenth of the gross produce of the peasant's land.

Heaviest of all were the taxes levied by the king. The taille, or land tax, was the most important. The amount was not fixed, but was supposed to be proportional to the value of the peasant's land and dwelling. In practice the tax-collectors often took as much as they could get, and a shrewd peasant would let his house go to pieces and pretend to be utterly destitute in order that the assessors might not increase the valuation of his property.

The other direct taxes were the poll tax, *i.e.*, a trifling sum which everybody alike must pay, and the income tax, usually a twentieth part of the income. Finally, there were indirect taxes, such as the salt gabelle. Thus, in certain provinces every person had to buy seven pounds of salt a year from the government salt-works at a price ten times its real value. Roadmaking, too, was the duty of the peasant, and the corvée, or labor on roads, often took several weeks in a year.

All these burdens—dues to the lord, tithes to the church, taxes to the king—left the peasant but little for himself. It is so difficult to get exact figures that we can put no trust in the estimate of a famous writer that dues, tithes, and taxes absorbed over four fifths of the French peasant's produce. Nevertheless, we may be sure that the burden was very great. In a few favored districts of France and England farmers were able to pay their taxes and still live comfortably. But elsewhere the misery of the people was such as can hardly be imagined. With the best of harvests they could barely provide for their families, and a dry summer or long winter would bring them to want. There was only the coarsest of bread—and little of that; meat was a luxury; and delicacies were for the rich. (We read how starving peasants in France tried to appease their hunger with roots and herbs, and in hard times succumbed by thousands to famine. One-roomed mud huts with leaky thatched roofs, bare and windowless, were good enough dwellings for these tillers of the soil.

True, the gloom of such conditions was relieved here and there by a prosperous village or a well-to-do peasant. But, speaking in a general way, the sufferings of the poorer European peasants and serfs can hardly be exaggerated. It was they who in large part paid alike for the wars and for the palaces and pleasures of the courts of Europe.

The peasants, the vast mass of Europeans, were at one extreme of the social scale. They were "unprivileged." At the other extreme were the "privileged," the social classes of clergy and nobility, or, as they were called in France, the first and second estates. These comprised a small minority of Europe's population. In France, for example, there were about 150,000 nobles and 130,000 clergymen out of a total population of twenty-five millions, roughly one out of a hundred.

These small upper classes were still sharply distinguished from the common people by rank, possessions, and privileges. The person of noble birth, that is, the son of a nobleman, was esteemed as inherently finer and better than other men. He was addressed in terms of special respect—"my lord," "your grace," etc.; common men saluted him as their superior. His coach was proudly decorated with an ancestral coat of arms. The best seats were reserved for him in church or theatre, and he was not expected to marry "below his class." His "gentle" birth admitted him to the polite society of the court and enabled him to seek, and usually to obtain, preferment in church or army.

More substantial than marks of honor were the actual possessions of nobles and clergy. Each noble bequeathed to his eldest son a castle or a mansion with more or less territory from which to collect rents or feudal dues. Bishops, abbots, and archbishops received their office by election or appointment rather than by inheritance, and, being legally unmarried, might not transmit their stations to children. But in countries where the wealth of the church had not been confiscated by Protestants, the "prince of the church" often enjoyed during his lifetime magnificent possessions. The bishop of Strasbourg had an annual income approximating 500,000 francs. Castles, cathedrals, palaces, rich vestments, invaluable pictures, golden chalices, rentals from broad lands, tithes from the people, —these were the property of the clergy. It is estimated that the clergy and nobility each owned one fifth of France, and that one third of all the land of Europe, one fourth the revenue, and one third the capital, were in the hands of Christian churches.

The noble families, possessing thousands of acres, and monopolizing the higher offices of church and army, were further en-

riched, as in France, by presents of money from the king, by pensions, by grants of monopolies, and by high-salaried positions which entailed little or no work.

With all their wealth the first two orders contributed almost nothing to lighten the financial burdens of the state. The church in France claimed exemption from taxation, but made annual gifts to the king of several hundred thousand dollars, though such grants represented less than one per cent of its income. The nobles, too, were largely exempted from the payment of direct taxes and did not hesitate to evade indirect taxation, leaving the chief burdens to fall upon the lower classes, and most of all upon the peasantry.

Exemption  
from  
Taxation

All these advantages, privileges, and immunities might be looked upon as a fitting reward which medieval Europe had given to her nobles for protecting peaceable ploughmen from the marauding bands then so common, and which she had bestowed upon her clergy for preserving education, for encouraging agriculture, for fostering the arts, for tending the poor, the sick, and the traveller, and for performing the offices of religion. But by the eighteenth century, as an outcome of the policies pursued by Richelieu and Louis XIV,<sup>1</sup> the protective functions of feudal nobles in France had been transferred to the royal government and the status of the nobility had been profoundly altered.

The No-  
bility, Es-  
pecially in  
France

One group of the nobility now consisted of families who enjoyed special royal favor and bounty, who resided customarily at Versailles, and who constituted an important part of the court. Here many of them rarely did anything worth while, unless it were to invent an unusually delicate compliment or to patronize art or pose as "enlightened." Their morals were not of the best,—it was almost fashionable to be vicious,—but their manners were perfect. Meanwhile, the landed estates of these absentee lords were in charge of salaried agents, whose sole mission was to squeeze money from the peasants, to make them pay well for mill, bridge, and oven, to press to the uttermost every claim which might give the absent master a larger revenue.

Another, and much larger, group of French nobles did not reside at Versailles but remained on their estates in the country.

<sup>1</sup> Louis XIV was chiefly responsible for the highly significant change in the status of the French nobility. See above, pp. 313-314.

Some of them were fairly well-to-do and supplied royal France with its chief army officers, church dignitaries, and "scientific" farmers. Others, more numerous, were poorer and less influential; they too furnished officers for army, navy, and church, but as nobles they scarcely counted in the society and politics of Versailles; and it was their relative poverty, rather than affluence, which made them cling to their feudal and manorial rights over land and peasantry. These French nobles, unlike contemporary English "gentlemen," were a neglected resource for the body politic, quite as much as a burden on it. They had hardly more voice in public affairs than the peasants, and less than the bourgeoisie. They were likely to be on friendly terms with their serfs or tenants, standing god-father to peasant-children, or inviting heavy-booted but light-hearted ploughmen to dance in the castle courtyard. But often their life was dull enough, with rents hard to collect, and only hunting and gossip to pass the time away.

A similar and sharper contrast was observable between the higher and lower clergy. Dissipated young nobles were frequently nominated bishops or abbots; they looked upon the ecclesiastical career primarily as a source of revenue and social prestige and were apt to be neglectful of spiritual duties. But while a Cardinal de Rohan with 2,500,000 livres a year could astound the court of France with his magnificence and luxury (and gambling), many a shabby but devout country curate, with an uncertain income of less than \$150 a year, was doing his best to make both ends meet, with a little to spare for charity. Not all the clergy and not all the country gentlemen shared in the wealth which accrued to clergy and nobility as classes. Especially among the Catholic priests in France there was a vast deal of humble service and quiet toil in behalf of the common people.

Between the privileged classes of nobility and clergy and the unprivileged mass of peasants was the bourgeoisie. This class, thanks to the steady growth of commerce and capitalism, was becoming very important all over western Europe in the eighteenth century. It was essentially a dynamic element in the otherwise static structure of European society.

"Bourgeoisie," as we have explained, means "townsmen,"

The  
Clergy,  
Especially  
in France

Position of  
the Bour-  
geoisie in  
the Eight-  
eenth  
Century

and the number of townsmen notably increased in Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, not only absolutely, but relatively to peasants and nobles and clergymen. Little villages of the year 1500 had become populous cities by 1750. London, already the largest city in Europe, now had a population of almost a million. Paris was at least half as large. Amsterdam was a great city, and so were Seville and Lisbon and Vienna. And as European cities grew, their appearance changed. They spread out beyond their cramping medieval walls. Roomy streets and pleasant squares made the newer sections more attractive. The old fortifications, no longer needed for protection, served as promenades. City thoroughfares were kept cleaner, sometimes well paved with cobbles; and at night the glow of oil street-lamps reassuringly lighted the homeward way of the burgher who had been at the theatre or the coffee-house.

The growth of towns was closely associated with the growth of industry and commerce. Industry in the eighteenth century meant far more than baking bread, making clothes, cobbling shoes, and fashioning furniture for the local market. It meant the production on a large scale of a vast range of goods to sell in distant places. Germany and Italy, it is true, were no longer such relatively important manufacturing countries as they had been in the later middle ages and early modern times. But throughout western Europe industrial development was constant and prodigious. In England in the eighteenth century a veritable industrial revolution was beginning; mechanical inventions were being applied to manufacturing and mining, production of goods was multiplying, and capitalism was growing by leaps and bounds.<sup>1</sup>

**Growth of  
Industry**

Commerce grew correspondingly. Not only was there a world market for European manufactures and sufficient capital to exploit it, but there was a lucrative carrying trade for Europeans between Asia and America. The New World supplied furs, timber, tobacco, cotton, rice, sugar, molasses, rum, coffee, dyes, gold, and silver, in return for negro slaves and Oriental wares; and the broad Atlantic highways were annually traversed by many hundreds of heavily laden sailing vessels. The spices, jewels, tea, and textiles of the Far East made rich cargoes for big fleets of stout East Indiamen.

**Growth of  
Commerce**

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. 3, ch. xv.



Important, too, was the traffic which occupied British and Dutch merchant fleets in the North and Baltic seas; and the ensigns of many sovereigns were carried by their bourgeois subjects along all the coasts of Europe. Great Britain at the opening of the eighteenth century possessed a foreign commerce estimated at \$60,000,000, and that of France was at least two thirds as great. Besides, domestic commerce was made easier, especially in national states, by the increasing attention which governments gave to police protection, to the extension of postal facilities, and to the construction of canals and good roads. During the century the volume and value of European commerce increased more than fourfold.

It is difficult to appreciate the significance of the growth of European capitalism, of which this expanding commerce was at once result and stimulant. It had already erected colonial empires, occasioned international wars, lured hundreds of thousands of peasants from their farms, and built populous cities. It was on the verge of effecting a revolution in the industrial arts—the “Industrial Revolution”—which, beginning in Great Britain, should eventually spread throughout Europe and the whole world and provide the material setting for our contemporary civilization.<sup>1</sup> But, meanwhile, the most portentous evidence of the growth of capitalism was the waxing numbers and ambition of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie comprised merchants, bankers, wholesalers, rich guild-masters, and even less opulent shopkeepers; and most professional men, lawyers, physicians, and professors were drawn from bourgeois families. It was an influential class. It was all-powerful in the realms of finance, industry, and trade. It was also powerful in the political domain; it was represented in the British House of Commons, and members of it were at the elbows of absolutist monarchs on the Continent, serving them as judges, local magistrates, ministers of state, intendants, tax-collectors. Moreover, it was the class which was eclipsing all others not only in wealth but in knowledge of, and devotion to, the new “enlightenment.” From the bourgeoisie came the largest number of persons who read the latest books on science and philosophy, who responded sympathetically to the current pleas for

<sup>1</sup> On the Industrial Revolution, see Vol. 3, ch. xv.

rationalism and humanitarianism, who criticized traditional religious beliefs and practices, who eagerly discussed questions of constitutional law and political economy.

As a class the bourgeoisie was ambitious. It resented its position as a middle class in European society. It aspired to the honors and privileges of the upper classes, or if it could not obtain for itself the privileges of clergy and nobility, it would combine with the lower classes in destroying such privileges. In any event, it would admit no superiors in brain and would brook no superiors in wealth.

Ambitions  
of the  
Bourgeoisie

More specifically, "enlightened" members of the bourgeoisie had immediate political ambitions. As men of means, they wished to have some direct say in the levying of taxes and the spending of public funds, and accordingly they took kindly to the doctrine of popular sovereignty. As men of learning, they desired to use this doctrine of popular sovereignty in order to direct state policies toward rational and humanitarian ends, toward freedom of conscience and worship, freedom of speech and association, freedom of trade, freedom from war, freedom from the irrational trammels of the past. They were especially fired by ambition to give effect to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, to Jeremy Bentham's *Principles of Legislation*, to Rousseau's *Social Contract*.

All such ambition would have been natural, but hardly fruitful, if the bourgeoisie had been an isolated and static class in eighteenth-century society. But we must emphasize the fundamental fact that the bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century was neither isolated nor static. It was very dynamic; it was growing fast in numbers, wealth, and influence, as well as in ambition. In England, where its size and activity were greatest, it had already played decisive rôles in the Puritan and "Glorious" Revolutions of the seventeenth century and now, in the eighteenth century, it participated with nobility and clergy in the maintenance of limited, constitutional monarchy and the conduct of the parliamentary oligarchy. The new capitalism was legally entrenched, with the old agriculture, in England. And the American Revolution was a more recent and even more radical instance of the triumph of "enlightened" middle-class principles and ambitions. Now the lessons of British political revolution, whether in England or

The In-  
sistence  
of the Bour-  
geoisie on  
Reform

in America, were not lost on the growing middle class of the European Continent. Here, this class began to agitate for reform of politics not only, but of society and religion likewise.

On the Continent the bourgeoisie did not stand alone in its demand for reform. There were some nobles and clergymen who

**The Bour-  
geoisie and  
the "En-  
lightened"  
Despots**

placed the claims of "enlightenment" above the claims of class and who swelled the clamor for reform. And there were "enlightened" monarchs who heard the clamor and sympathized with it and sought to accomplish reform. Indeed, as we have elsewhere pointed out,<sup>1</sup> the second half of the eighteenth century was full of "enlightened" reforming despots: Frederick II in Prussia (1740-1786), Joseph II in Austria (1765-1790), Catherine II in Russia (1762-1796), Charles III in Spain (1759-1788), Joseph I in Portugal (1750-1777), Gustavus III in Sweden (1771-1792). These princes worked hard. They patronized the new science as well as the new art. They accorded a large degree of religious toleration. They reformed the law courts. They built roads and canals and did much else to foster industry and commerce and to win the plaudits of the "enlightened" bourgeoisie.

With the development of the Intellectual Revolution during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and with the concurrent rise of the bourgeoisie, a profound change in European society was clearly impending. For a time, and in most lands, it seemed as if the change would be accomplished by gradual reforms, proceeding from enlightened monarchs and backed up by enlightened bourgeois and some enlightened nobles and clergymen. Only in France was there cause to suspect that "reform" might be anticipated by "revolution."

France in the eighteenth century possessed industry, commerce, capital, and a middle class, second only to Britain's among European nations, and her peasants on the whole were distinctly better off than those of other Continental countries. France, moreover, was the centre of the Continental "enlightenment." Her literature and art were universally prized and imitated. Her natural scientists and her social reformers were legion and were influential both abroad and at home. Not only her middle class, but many of her nobility and clergy and even some of her sturdy

**The Cen-  
tral Posi-  
tion of  
France in  
the Eight-  
eenth  
Century**

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 346-356.

farmers and thrifty artisans were particularly "enlightened" and particularly clamorous for "reform."

According to the critical philosophy of the day, French society and French politics were in need of reform, though no more so than the society and politics of any other European country. In France, as elsewhere, there was much unreasonableness in existing politics and society. The government was too much the outcome of haphazard historical growth; it was both too arbitrary and too unsystematic. In the course of time, one set of institutions and officials had been superimposed on another, so that now, in the eighteenth century, while the king was supposed to be an autocrat, he was really dependent on a most complicated officialdom, with ill-defined powers and overlapping jurisdictions. The country had been divided since the middle ages into districts under bailiffs and seneschals whose offices were now purely ornamental. It had long been divided, too, into provinces, some of which had parliaments or "estates," and all of which had governors. It had been divided, moreover, since Richelieu's time, into intendants, under intendants. It was also divided into judicial districts, each with a court or "parliament"; into ecclesiastical districts, each with a bishop or archbishop; and into educational districts, each with a university. Most towns had town councils, but no two such councils were elected in the same way or possessed the same rights. There was, thus, little system in the French government, and its abuses arose less from a constantly exerted despotism than from dilatoriness and occasional arbitrariness. Despotic in theory, it proved, after Louis XIV's time, ineffectual in practice.

Political  
Confusion  
in France

Confusion in administration was not the only confusion in eighteenth-century France. There was no uniformity or simplicity in standards of weight and measure, in coinage, in tolls, in internal customs-duties. Nor was there any uniformity in law or legal procedure. What was lawful in one town might be illegal in a place not five miles distant. Almost four hundred bodies of law were in force in different parts of France.

To legal and administrative confusion, must be added fiscal confusion. There was no distinction between the king's income and the national income. There was no budget. Money was spent by the king or his agents as fast as it was collected. No general

accounts were kept, and no official knew the actual condition of the finances. What has been called the tax-system of the old régime was hardly a system at all; it had grown up, like the political machinery of the state, in a most haphazard manner. The king still obtained some revenue from his personally owned estates and manors, like any landlord. But most of the public revenue was gotten from various kinds of national taxation which had been established at different times in the past: a general poll or head tax; an income tax; a direct land tax; a tax on foreign imports; a tax on the transport of goods between various provinces and various towns within France; excise taxes; licensing taxes, etc. The difficulty here was not with the kinds of taxes (most of which are levied nowadays in "progressive" countries), but rather with the modes of assessing and collecting them. They were assessed mainly to the unprivileged classes of peasantry and bourgeoisie, while the privileged classes of clergy and nobility, that is, some of the wealthiest Frenchmen, were largely exempt. Furthermore, instead of collecting taxes direct from the taxpayers, the government would empower private corporations or individuals—the so-called "farmers of the taxes"—to monopolize the collection of certain taxes in particular districts and to retain for themselves a liberal share of what they collected.

With all its confusion and inefficiency, the French government of the eighteenth century was provokingly arbitrary at times, and, from the standpoint of "enlightened" Frenchmen, it was too prone to take "reactionary" measures against "progressive" leaders and movements. A person who shocked the king or offended an influential nobleman or ecclesiastic might be thrown into prison by royal order (the so-called "lettre de cachet") and immured there indefinitely without trial; for example, Voltaire was jailed for a while in this manner, and so was the Count de Mirabeau. Protestants and other dissenters from the state church were now usually tolerated, but as the older laws against them still remained on the statute-books, they were subjected to repeated annoyances on the complaint of religious fanatics and also of persons who merely had a grudge against them. There were also both royal and ecclesiastical censorships, which were invoked at one time or another against almost every "enlightened" liter-

Arbitrariness and Inefficiency in France

ateur in eighteenth-century France. These censorships were enforced too poorly and too spasmodically to be effective, but they were enforced enough to be galling and troublesome.

In all the foregoing respects and in general conditions, France<sup>1</sup> in the eighteenth century was not very different from other European countries. Her need of political and social reform was perhaps a bit greater. Her critical writers were perhaps a bit more numerous and more incisive. Her growing bourgeoisie was perhaps a bit more eager to participate in reform. Yet there were two circumstances which were peculiar to France and of ominous significance. First, the French royal family was incompetent. Second, the French state was becoming bankrupt.

Louis XIV, the Grand Monarch, had been the last of the really competent Bourbon kings of France; he had had brains and he had worked hard. And he had had the wit to perceive toward the end of his reign how very costly were his wars and his ostentation. As he lay on his deathbed, flushed with fever, he called his five-year-old great-grandson and heir, the future Louis XV, to the bedside and said: "My child, you will soon be sovereign of a great kingdom. Do not forget your obligations to God; remember that it is to Him that you owe all that you are. Endeavor to live at peace with your neighbors; do not imitate me in my fondness for war, nor in the exorbitant expenditure which I have incurred. Take counsel in all your actions. Endeavor to relieve the people at the earliest possible moment, and thus to accomplish what, unfortunately, I am unable to do myself."

Incompe-  
tence of  
Bourbon  
Kings in  
the Eight-  
eenth  
Century

It was good advice. But Louis XIV, having kept all the threads of government in his own hands, left no proper organization of government to conduct affairs for his grandchild. Louis XV was only a child at the time, a plaything in the hands of selfish and unprincipled ministers. In an earlier chapter we have seen how under the duke of Orleans, who was prince regent from 1715 to 1723, French finances, already disorganized, were reduced to chaos by the speculations of John Law; and how under Cardinal Fleury, who was minister from 1726 to 1743, the treasury was

<sup>1</sup> Except from England, in respect of the rôle of the nobility. In France the nobility was deprived of real political power, while in England the nobility (with the commercial bourgeoisie) constituted the parliamentary oligarchy. See above, pp. 447, 453-460.

further impoverished by French participation in the War of the Polish Election (1733-1738) and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748).<sup>1</sup>

In 1743 the ninety-year-old Cardinal Fleury died, and Louis XV announced that he would be his own minister. But Louis XV

Louis XV was not a Frederick the Great; he had neither the wit nor the inclination to be a really "enlightened" despot.

At the council table he "opened his mouth, said little, and thought not at all." State business seemed terribly dull, and the king left most of it to his fawning courtiers.

But of one thing, Louis XV could not have enough, and that was pleasure. Pleasure he took, not from politics or from the "enlightenment," but from dancing, hunting, gambling, and especially a series of pretty-faced, putty-headed mistresses, prominent among whom were the duchess of Chateauroux, Madame de Pompadour, and Madame du Barry. Upon his mistresses, he lavished titles, money, and estates; he provided magnificent establishments for them at Versailles; and he allowed their whims to determine French policy in international affairs. It was mainly a whim of Madame de Pompadour which aligned France with her traditional enemy Austria in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) and cost France her political prestige in Europe and her colonial empire in America and India, and saddled her with crushing financial burdens.<sup>2</sup>

Early in his reign Louis XV had been dubbed Louis the Well Beloved, and to the end he was beloved by shallow courtiers who bled him—and the French treasury—white. Versailles remained gay. Its artificial elegance was alluringly depicted by Boucher and Fragonard. Its fountains played, its minuets were danced, its furniture was gilded. Mistresses and court ladies painted their cheeks ever more brightly, and butterfly nobles and ecclesiastics spent their fortunes ever more recklessly.

But Versailles was not France. At Paris and in the provinces there was not only literary criticism but popular grumbling, as taxes went higher and the hope of royal reform receded. Louis XV grew afraid to ride in town or country; peasants saluted him sullenly, and artisans jeered at him; he knew that he was be-

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 315-317.

<sup>2</sup> The formal annexation of Lorraine in 1766 and of Corsica in 1768 afforded some crumbs of comfort to France and temporarily bolstered her international prestige. See above, p. 317, note.

coming the Well Hated. Yet, "it will surely last as long as I," he cynically reassured himself; "my successor may take care of himself."

His successor was his grandson, Louis XVI (1774-1792), a weak-kneed prince of twenty years, very virtuous and well-meaning, but lacking in intelligence and will-power. He was too awkward and shy to preside with dignity over the Louis XVI ceremonious court; he was too stupid and lazy to dominate the government. He liked to shoot deer from out the palace window, or to play at lock-making in his royal carpentry shop. He would have been a good bourgeois; he could not be an enlightened despot.

At first, hopes ran high, for Turgot, friend of Voltaire and contributor to the *Encyclopedia*, was named minister of finance (1774-1776), and reform was in the air. Industry and commerce were to be unshackled; *laissez-faire* was to be the order of the day; finances were to be reformed, and taxes lowered. The clergy and nobles were no longer to escape taxation; taxes on food were to be abolished; the peasants were to be freed from forced labor on the roads. But Turgot only stirred up opposition. The nobles and clergy were not anxious to be taxed; courtiers resented any reduction of their pensions; owners of industrial monopolies were frightened; tax-farmers feared the reforming minister; the peasants misunderstood his intentions; riots broke out. Everybody seemed to be relieved when, in 1776, Turgot was dismissed.

Turgot had been a theorist; his successor was a business man. Jacques Necker was well known in Paris as a hard-headed Swiss banker, and Madame Necker's receptions were attended by the chief personages of the bourgeois society of Paris. During his five years in office (1776-1781) Necker applied business methods to the royal finances. He borrowed 400,000,000 francs from his banker friends, bettered the collection of taxes, reduced expenditures, and carefully audited the accounts. In 1781 he issued a report, or "Account Rendered of the Financial Condition." The bankers were delighted; the secrets of the royal treasury were at last common property;<sup>1</sup> and Necker was praised to the skies.

<sup>1</sup> The *Compte Rendu*, as it was called in France, was really not accurate; Necker, in order to secure credit for his financial administration, made matters appear better than they actually were.



While Necker's Parisian friends rejoiced, his enemies at court prepared his downfall. The most powerful enemy of Necker's reforms and economies was the queen, Marie Antoinette. She was an Austrian princess, the daughter of Maria Theresa, and in the eyes of the French people she always remained a hated foreigner—"the Austrian," they called her—the living symbol of the ruinous alliance between Habsburgs and Bourbons which had been arranged by Madame de Pompadour and which had contributed to the disasters and disgrace of the Seven Years' War.<sup>1</sup> While ministers of finance were puzzling their heads over the deficit, Marie Antoinette was buying jewelry and making presents to her friends. The girl-queen had little serious interest in politics, but when her friends complained of Necker's miserliness, she at once demanded his dismissal.

Her demand was granted, for the kind-hearted, well-intentioned Louis XVI could not bear to deprive his pretty, irresponsible Marie Antoinette and her charming friends,—gallant nobles of France,—of their pleasures. Their pleasures were very costly; and the obsequious new finance-minister, Calonne, secured fresh loans only at high rates of interest.

From the standpoint of France, the greatest folly of Louis XVI's reign was the ruinous intervention in the War of American Independence (1778-1783).<sup>2</sup> The United States became free. Great Britain was humbled. Frenchmen proved that their valor was equal to their chivalry. But when the impulsive Marquis de Lafayette returned from assisting the Americans to win their liberty, he found the French treasury on the verge of collapse. All questions of reform were obviously centring in the single, simple question of public finance. How to balance expenditure with income? How to restrict the one and expand the other?

As a matter of fact, the expenditure, though wasteful, was not too great for a rich country like France to bear. And the tax burdens might have been eased for the lower classes if the well-to-do upper classes had been made to shoulder their proportionate share. Successive finance-ministers so advised Louis XVI. Here, however, was the crux of the situation: the upper classes were not minded to surrender any privilege, and

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 341-344, 407-413.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 484-487.

The Financial Crisis in France

the well-intentioned king was too dull to understand in the least the seriousness of the financial situation. What was the good of being a bishop or a noble, if one had no privileges and was obliged to pay taxes like the rest? What was the good of being king, if one had to pull down the traditional pillars of society? In the fateful circumstances, reform could mean in France only temporary financial palliatives, with bankruptcy (and revolution) in the offing.

In 1786 the interest-bearing debt had mounted to \$600,000,000, the government was running in debt at least \$25,000,000 a year, and the treasury-officials were experiencing the utmost difficulty in negotiating new loans. Something had to be done. In desperation the king convened (1787) an Assembly of Notables—145 of the chief nobles, bishops, and magistrates—in the vain hope that they would consent to the taxation of the privileged and unprivileged alike. **The Assembly of the Notables** The notables were not so self-sacrificing, however, and contented themselves with abolishing compulsory labor on the roads, approving the establishment of provincial assemblies, and demanding the dismissal of Calonne, the minister of finance. The question of taxation, they said, should be referred to the Estates General. All this helped the treasury in no material way.

A new minister of finance, who succeeded Calonne,—Archbishop Lomenie de Brienne,—politely thanked the notables and sent them home. He made so many fine promises that hope temporarily revived, and a new loan was raised. **The Parlement of Paris** But the parlement of Paris soon saw through the artifices of the suave minister, and positively refused to register further loans or taxes. Encouraged by popular approval, the parlement went on to draw up a declaration of rights, and to assert that subsidies could constitutionally be granted only by the nation's representatives—the Estates General. This sounded to the government like revolution, and the parlements were abolished. At once there was popular protest; soldiers refused to arrest the judges; and excited crowds assembled in Paris and other cities and clamored for the convocation of the Estates General.

Menaced with revolt, the well-intentioned Louis XVI finally yielded to the popular clamor. He and his ministers, in their

search for means of escape from financial bankruptcy, had already had recourse to every expedient consistent with the maintenance of the "old régime" save one, and this one—the convocation of the Estates General—was now to be tried. It might be that the duly elected representatives of the three chief classes of the realm would offer suggestions to the court, whereby, without impairing the divine-right monarchy or the traditional class-distinctions, the public treasury could be refilled. With this simple objective in mind, Louis XVI in 1788 summoned the Estates General to meet at Versailles the following May.

The Estates General were by no means a novel institution. Though for a hundred and seventy-five years the French monarchs had been able to do without them, they were in theory still a legitimate part of the historic French government. Summoned for the first time by King Philip the Fair as far back as 1302, they had thenceforth been convoked at irregular intervals until 1614.<sup>1</sup> Their organization had always been in three separate bodies, representing by election the three traditional estates, or "orders," of the realm—clergy, nobility, and commoners (Third Estate). Each estate had voted as a unit, and two out of the three estates were sufficient to carry a measure. It had usually happened that the clergy and nobility joined forces to outvote the commoners. The powers of the Estates General had always been advisory rather than legislative, and the kings had frequently ignored or violated the enactments of the Estates General. It might prove dangerous in the troubled state of affairs of 1788–1789 to convoke such a public debating body as the Estates General, but it was not revolutionary.

In the winter of 1788–1789 elections to the several estates were held throughout France in accordance with medieval usage.

Also, in accordance with old custom and royal request, the electors drafted reports on the condition of their respective localities and recommendations for their representatives and for the government. These reports and recommendations were called *cahiers*; there were many of them, for almost every local group of voters of each of the three estates prepared a *cahier*.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 280–281.

By the time the elections were held and the *cahiers* drafted, it was apparent that the majority of the French people expected from the Estates General a greater measure of reform than their sovereign had anticipated. To be sure, the *cahiers* were not revolutionary in wording. With remarkable uniformity they expressed loyalty to the monarchy and fidelity to the king. In not a single one was there a threat of violent change. But in spirit most of the *cahiers* reflected the radical political philosophy of the age, that there should be fundamental, thoroughgoing reforms in government and society. Many of the *cahiers* of the Third Estate were particularly insistent upon the removal of social inequalities and abuses long associated with the "old régime," and especially emphatic about the need of establishing *national* unity and solidarity. It was clear that if the elected representatives of the Third Estate carried out the instructions of their constituents, the voting of additional taxes to the government would be delayed until a thorough investigation had been made and many grievances had been redressed.

The  
Cahiers

On the whole, it appeared likely that the elected representatives of the Third Estate would heed the *cahiers*. They were educated and earnest men. Two thirds of them were lawyers or judges; many, also, were scholars; only ten could possibly be considered as belonging to the lower classes. A goodly number admired the governmental system of Great Britain, in which the royal power had been reduced and the rôle of the nation had been exalted; the class interests of all of them were directly opposed to the prevailing policies of the French monarchy. The Third Estate was now too conscious of the problem confronting the French state to ignore the instructions in their *cahiers* and the reforms demanded by their provinces.

The Position of the  
Third  
Estate

In the earliest history of the Estates General, the Third Estate had been of comparatively slight importance either in society or in politics, and Philip the Fair had proclaimed that the duty of its members was "to hear, receive, approve, and perform what should be commanded of them by the king." But between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries the relative social importance of the bourgeoisie had enormously increased. The class was more numerous, wealthier, more enlightened, and

more experienced in the conduct of business. It became clearer with the lapse of time that it, more than nobility or clergy, represented the bulk of the nation. This development Louis XVI had seemed in part to recognize by providing that the number of elected representatives of the Third Estate should equal the combined numbers of those of the First and Second Estates. The commoners naturally drew the deduction from the royal concession that they were to exercise paramount political influence in the Estates General of 1789.

The Third Estate, as elected in the winter of 1788-1789, was fortunate in possessing two very capable spokesmen, Mirabeau and Sieyes, both of whom belonged by birth or office to the upper classes, but who had gladly accepted election as deputies of the unprivileged classes. Mirabeau (1749-1791) was the son of a bluff but good-hearted old marquis who was not very successful in bringing up his family. Young Mirabeau had been so wild and unruly that his father had repeatedly obtained *lettres de cachet* from the king in order that prison bars might keep the "bad boy" out of mischief. Released several times only to fall into new excesses, Mirabeau found at last in the stirring political events of 1789 an opportunity for expressing his sincere belief in constitutional government and an outlet for his almost superhuman energy. From the convocation of the Estates General to his death in 1791, he was one of the most prominent men in France. His gigantic physique, half-broken by disease and imprisonment, his shaggy eyebrows, his heavy head, gave him an impressive, though sinister, appearance. And for quickness in perceiving at once a problem and its solution, as well as for gifts of reverberating oratory, he had no equal.

Less forceful and more doctrinaire was the priest, Sieyes (1748-1836), whose lack of devotion to Christianity and the clerical calling was matched by his zealous regard for the critical philosophy of the day and for the practical arts of politics and diplomacy. It was a pamphlet of Sieyes that, on the eve of the assembling of the Estates General, furnished the Third Estate with its platform and programme. "What is the Third Estate?" asked Sieyes. "It is everything,"

Comte de  
Mirabeau

Abbé  
Sieyes

he replied. "What has it been hitherto in the political order? Nothing! What does it desire? To be something!"

If the Third Estate—and the Estates General as a whole—were uncertain about what was expected of them, Louis XVI and his ministers seemed far more uncertain. Indeed, the most amazing and significant fact about the situation was that the royal government formulated no programme. It did not study the *cahiers* or deduce from them any proposals or recommendations to put before the Estates General. In other words, the royal government exercised no leadership, and this gave to the situation a peculiarly chaotic character.

**The King  
without  
a Pro-  
gramme**

The position of the Third Estate was still officially undefined when the Estates General assembled at Versailles in May, 1789. The king received his advisers with pompous ceremony and a colorless speech. The only thing which seemed obvious was that Louis XVI intended their business to be purely financial and their organization quite traditional. He would have the three estates vote "by order," that is, as three distinct bodies, so that the doubled membership of the Third Estate would have but one vote to the privileged orders' two. With this view the great majority of the nobles and a large part of the clergy, especially the higher clergy, were in full sympathy. On the other hand, the commoners began to argue that the Estates General should organize themselves as a single assembly, in which each member should have one vote, such voting "by head" marking the establishment of true *national* representation in France, and that the assembly should forthwith concern itself with a general reformation of French society and government. With the commoners' argument a few of the liberal nobles, headed by Lafayette, and a considerable group of the clergy, particularly the parish priests, agreed; and it had the support of the bulk of public opinion outside the Estates General. Bad harvests in 1788 had been followed by an unusually severe winter. The peasantry was in an extremely wretched plight, and the cities, notably Paris, suffered from a shortage of food. The increase of popular distress, like a black cloud before a storm, gave ominous weight to the demands of the commoners.

**Vote by  
"Order"  
or by  
"Head"**

Over the constitutional question, fraught as it was with the most significant consequences to politics and society, the parties wrangled for a month. The king, unwilling to offend anyone, shilly-shallied. But the uncompromising attitude of the privileged orders and the indecision of the leaders of the court at length forced the issue. On 17 June, 1789, the Third Estate solemnly proclaimed itself a "*National Assembly*" and invited the other Estates to join it in the work of national reformation. Three days later, when the deputies of the Third Estate came to the hall which had been set apart in the palace of Versailles for their use, they found its doors shut and guarded by troops and a notice to the effect that it was undergoing repairs. Apparently the king was at last preparing to intervene in the contest himself.

Then the commoners precipitated a veritable revolution. Led by Mirabeau and Sieyès, they proceeded to a great public building in the vicinity, which was variously used as a riding-hall or a tennis court. There, amidst intense excitement, with upstretched hands, they took an oath as members of the "*National Assembly*" that they would not separate until they had drawn up a constitution for France. The "*Oath of the Tennis Court*" was

The Oath  
of the  
Tennis  
Court

the true beginning of the French Revolution. Without royal sanction, in fact against the express commands of the king, the medieval feudal Estates General had been transformed, by a simple proclamation of one of the Estates, into a National Assembly, charged with the duty of establishing constitutional government in France. The "*Oath of the Tennis Court*" was the declaration of the end of absolute divine-right monarchy and of the beginning of popular national sovereignty.

What would the king do under these circumstances? The most obvious thing would be for him to overwhelm the revolutionary commoners by force of arms. But that would not solve his financial problems, nor could he expect the French nation to endure it. It would likely lead to a ruinous civil war. Another line of action appealed to the king; he would try a game of bluff. So he ignored the "*Oath of the Tennis Court*," and with majestic mien commanded the Estates to sit separately and vote "by order." But the commoners were not to be bluffed. Now joined by a considerable number of clergy and by a few nobles, they maintained their defiant attitude and declared, in

Transformation of the Estates General into the National Constituent Assembly

the words of Mirabeau, "We are here by the will of the people and we shall not leave our places except at the point of the bayonet." Whereupon, the weak-kneed, well-intentioned Louis XVI gave way. Exactly one week after the scene in the tennis court, he reversed his earlier decrees and directed the three Estates to sit together and vote "by head" as members of a National Constituent Assembly.

## 2. NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC SELF-DETERMINATION

By the end of June, 1789, the stage was set for a radical alteration in the traditional political institutions and social structure of France. With the consent of the king, the nobles and clergy were now meeting with the commoners. The Estates General had become the National Constituent Assembly, and its middle-class leaders were looking forward toward the goals of individual liberty, social equality, and democratic nationalism.

Yet, before the Assembly could proceed with its revolutionary labors, it had to face still another change of front on the part of the king. For, early in July, 1789, a gradual transfer of royal troops from the eastern frontier to the vicinity of Paris and Versailles indicated that Louis XVI was at last preparing to use force against the Assembly if it should prove too revolutionary. The Assembly at once requested the removal of the troops. The king responded by a peremptory refusal and by the dismissal of Necker, the popular finance-minister.<sup>1</sup> Then it was that Paris came to the rescue of the Assembly.

**The Question of Freedom for the Assembly**

The Parisian populace, goaded by real want, felt instinctively that its own interests and those of the National Assembly were identical. Fired by an eloquent harangue of a brilliant young journalist, Camille Desmoulins by name, they rushed to arms. For three days there was wild disorder in the city. Shops were looted, royal officers were expelled, business was at a standstill. On the third day—14 July, 1789—the mob surged out to the east end of Paris, where stood the frowning royal fortress and prison of the Bastille. Although since the accession of Louis XVI the Bastille no longer harbored political offenders, nevertheless it was still regarded as a symbol of Bourbon despotism, a grim threat against the liber-

**Popular Uprising in Paris and Fall of the Bastille**

<sup>1</sup> Necker had been restored to his office as director-general of the finances in 1788.



ties of Paris. The people would now take it and would appropriate its arms and ammunition for use in defense of the National Assembly. The garrison of the Bastille was small and disheartened, provisions were short, and the royal governor was irresolute. Within a few hours the mob was in possession of the Bastille, and the defenders, most of whom were Swiss mercenaries, had been slaughtered.

The fall of the Bastille was the first serious act of violence in the course of the Revolution. It was an unmistakable sign that the people were with the Assembly rather than with the king. It put force behind the Assembly's decrees. Not only that, but it rendered Paris practically independent of royal control, for, during the period of disorder, prominent citizens had taken it upon themselves to organize their own government and their own army. The new local government—the "commune," as it was called—was made up of those elected representatives of the various sections or wards of Paris who had chosen the city's delegates to the Estates General. It was itself a revolution in city government. It substituted popularly elected officials in place of royal agents and delegates of the medieval guilds. And the authority of the commune was sustained by a popularly enrolled militia, styled the National Guard, which soon numbered 48,000 champions of the new cause. It was obvious that, for the first time since the early days of Louis XIV, Paris rather than Versailles was leading France.<sup>1</sup>

The fall of the Bastille was such a clear sign that even Louis XVI did not fail to perceive its meaning. He instantly withdrew the royal troops and recalled Necker. He recognized the new government of Paris and confirmed the appointment of the liberal Lafayette as commander of the National Guard. He visited Paris in person, praised what he could not prevent, and put on a red-white-and-blue cockade—combining the red and blue of the capital city with the white of the Bourbons—the new national tricolor of France. Frenchmen still celebrate the fourteenth of July, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, as the independence day of the French nation.

For a while it seemed as though radical reform might proceed without further interruption. The freedom of the Assembly had

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 293, 312.

been affirmed and upheld. Paris had settled down once more into comparative repose. The king had apparently learned his lesson. But the victory of the revolutionaries had been gained too easily. Louis XVI might take solemn oaths and wear strange cockades, but he remained in character essentially weak. His very virtues—good intentions, love of wife, loyalty to friends—were continually abused. The queen was bitterly opposed to the reforming policies of the National Assembly and actively resented any diminution of royal authority. Her clique of court friends and favorites disliked the decrease of pensions and amusements to which they had long been accustomed. Court and queen made common cause in appealing to the good qualities of Louis XVI. What was the weak king to do in the circumstances? He was completely dominated by the court, and the court had no constructive plans.

The result was renewed intrigues to employ force against the obstreperous deputies and their allies, the populace of Paris. This time it was planned to bring royal troops from the garrisons in Flanders. On the night of 1 October, 1789, a supper was given by the officers of the body-guard at Versailles in honor of the arriving soldiers. Toasts were drunk liberally and royalist songs were sung. News of the "orgy," as it was termed, spread like wildfire in Paris, where hunger was more prevalent than ever. The court and army officers at Versailles appeared to be feasting while the common people of Paris were starving. The latter believed that the presence of additional troops at Versailles not only would put an end to the independence of the Assembly but would continue their own starvation. More excited grew the Parisians.

On 5 October was presented a strange and uncouth spectacle. A long line of the poorest women of Paris, including some men dressed as women, riotous with hunger and rage, armed with sticks and clubs, screaming "Bread! bread! bread!" were straggling along the twelve miles of highway from Paris to Versailles. They were going to demand bread of the king. Lafayette and his National Guardsmen, who had been unable or unwilling to allay the excitement in Paris, marched at a respectful distance behind the women out to Versailles.

**Renewed  
Royal  
Threats  
against the  
Assembly's  
Freedom**

**The De-  
scent of the  
Parisian  
Women on  
Versailles**

By the time Lafayette reached the royal palace, the women were surrounding it, howling and cursing, and demanding bread or blood; only the fixed bayonets of the royal troops prevented them from invading the building, and even the troops were weakening. Lafayette at once became the man of the hour. He sent the soldiers back to the barracks and with his own force undertook to guard the royal family. Despite his precautions, it was a wild night. There was continued tumult in the streets and, at one time, shortly before dawn, a gang of rioters actually broke into the palace and killed several of the queen's body-guard.

When morning came, the well-meaning king consented to do what was to prove fatal to him and fateful to the Revolution; he consented to accompany the mob back to Paris.

**Transfer  
of King  
and As-  
sembly  
from Ver-  
sailles to  
Paris**

And so on 6 October there was a procession from Versailles to Paris more curious and more significant than that of the preceding day in the opposite direction. There were still the women and a host of people from the slums, and the national guardsmen and Lafayette on his white horse, but this time in the midst of the throng was a great lumbering coach, in which rode Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette and their children. All along the route, the mob shouted "We have the baker and the baker's wife and the little cook-boy—now we shall have bread."

To Versailles the French royal family never returned. The Parisians installed Louis XVI in the palace of the Tuileries, and thenceforth he was virtually their prisoner. Moreover, the National Assembly speedily followed the king to Paris, so that from October, 1789, not reactionary Versailles but radical Paris was the centre of the Revolution.

The "fall of the Bastille" and the "march of the women to Versailles" were the two picturesque events which in 1789 rendered the National Assembly independent of the king and dependent upon the populace of Paris. Meanwhile, the French people at large were supplying the National Assembly with the occasion and the impulse for some of its most revolutionary reforms.

Ever since the assembling of the Estates General, ordinary administration of the country had been at a standstill. The people, expecting great changes, refused to pay the customary

taxes and imposts, and the king, for fear of the National Assembly and of a popular uprising, hesitated to compel tax collection by force of arms. The local officials did not know whether they were to obey the Assembly or the king. In fact, the Assembly was for a time so busy with constitutional questions that it neglected to provide for local government, and the king was always timorous. So, during the summer of 1789, the institutions of the "old régime" disappeared throughout France, one after another, because there was no popular desire to maintain them and no competent authority to operate them. The July rioting in Paris and the fall of the Bastille were signals for similar action elsewhere; other towns substituted new elective officers for royal or guild agents and organized national guards of their own. Chaos, which had already overtaken the central government of the king, thus overtook his agencies of local government. The whole political machinery which Louis XIV had built up, now collapsed utterly under Louis XVI; and no effective, centralized authority immediately took its place.

**Collapse of  
the Royal  
Government  
throughout  
France**

At the same time the revolutionary action of the townspeople spread to the country districts. In many regions the oppressed peasants attacked the *châteaux* of the hated nobles, taking particular pains to destroy feudal or servile title-deeds. In some places, monasteries and residences of bishops were ransacked and pillaged. A few of the unlucky landlords were murdered, and others were driven into the towns or across the frontier. Amid the universal confusion, the old system of local government completely collapsed. The intendants and governors quitted their posts. The traditional courts of justice, whether feudal or royal, ceased to function. The summer of 1789 really ended the "old régime" in France, and the transfer of the central government from Versailles to Paris in October merely confirmed an accomplished fact.

**The  
Peasant  
Uprisings  
in the  
Provinces**

**The End  
of the Old  
Régime**

It was one thing to end the "old régime"—to wreck the authority of the king, to trample upon the time-honored privileges of the upper classes, to destroy long-existing institutions. It was another thing to begin a "new régime"—to establish a new government and a new society which should embody the enlightened aspirations of the age and at the same time bring

order out of chaos. To this great and difficult task, the National Constituent Assembly devoted its earnest attention throughout its sessions at Paris from October, 1789 to September, 1791. And, despite factional differences and disturbances within the Assembly and more or less constant pressure upon it by disorderly Parisians, it managed to achieve a high degree of success. Indeed, the work of the National Constituent Assembly from 1789 to 1791 was by far the most constructive and the most enduring of the whole revolutionary era.

Leaving out of consideration for the present the frightened royal family, the startled noblemen and clergy, the determined peasantry, and the excited townsfolk, and not adhering too closely to chronological order, let us concentrate our attention upon the National Assembly and review its major acts during those momentous years, 1789-1791.

The first great achievement of the Assembly was the legal destruction of feudalism and serfdom and class privilege—a long step in the direction of social equality. We have already noticed how in July, while the Assembly was still at Versailles, the royal officers in the country districts had ceased to govern and how the peasants had destroyed many *châteaux* amid scenes of unexpected violence. News of the rioting and disorder came to the Assembly from every province and filled its members with the liveliest apprehension. A long report, submitted by a special investigating committee on 4 August, 1789, gave such harrowing details of the popular uprising that everyone was convinced that something should be done at once.

While the Assembly was debating a declaration which might calm revolt, one of the nobles—a relative of Lafayette—arose in his place and stated that if the peasants had attacked the property and privileges of the upper classes, it was because such property and privileges represented unjust inequality, that the fault lay there, and that the remedy was not to repress the peasants but to suppress inequality. It was immediately moved and carried that the Assembly should proclaim equality of taxation for all classes and the suppression of feudal and servile dues. Then followed a scene almost unprecedented in history. Noble vied with noble, and clergyman with clergyman, in re-

nouncing the vested rights of the "old régime." The game laws were repealed. The manorial courts were suppressed. Serfdom was abolished. Tithes and all sorts of ecclesiastical privilege were sacrificed. The sale of offices was discontinued. In fact, all special privileges, whether of classes, of cities, or of provinces, were swept away in one consuming burst of enthusiasm. The holocaust lasted throughout the night of the fourth of August. Within a week the various independent measures had been consolidated into an impressive decree "abolishing the feudal system" and the king had signed the decree. What many reforming ministers had vainly labored for years partially to accomplish was thus done by the National Assembly in a few days and with much thoroughness. The so-called "August Days" legalized the dissolution of the traditional class-society of France and the substitution of modern individualist society.

Abolition  
of Feudal-  
ism, Serf-  
dom, and  
Class  
Privilege

It has been customary to refer these vast social changes to the enthusiasm, magnanimity, and self-sacrifice of the privileged orders. That there was enthusiasm is unquestionable. But it may be doubted whether the nobles and clergy were so much magnanimous as terrorized. For the first time, they were genuinely frightened by the peasants, and it is possible that the true measure of their "magnanimity" was their alarm. Then, too, if one is to sacrifice, one must have something to sacrifice. At most, the nobles had only legal claims to surrender, for the peasants had already taken forcible possession of nearly everything which the decree accorded them. In fact the decree of the Assembly constituted merely a legal and uniform recognition of accomplished facts.

The nobles may have thought, moreover, that enlightened acquiescence in the first demands of the peasantry would merit some compensatory advantages to themselves. At any rate, they zealously set to work in the Assembly to modify what had been done, to secure financial or other indemnity,<sup>1</sup> and to prevent the enactment of additional social legislation. Outside the Assembly few nobles took kindly to the loss of privilege and

<sup>1</sup> The general effect of the series of decrees of the Assembly from 5 to 11 August, 1789, was to impose some kind of financial redemption for many of the feudal dues. It was only in July, 1793, almost four years after the "August Days," that all feudal dues and rights were legally abolished without redemption or compensation.

property. The large majority protested and tried to stir up civil war; and eventually, when such attempts failed, they left France and enrolled themselves among their country's enemies.

It is not necessary for us to know precisely who were responsible for the "August Days." The fact remains that the "decree abolishing the feudal system" represented the most important achievement of the whole French Revolution. Henceforth, those who profited by the decree were loyal friends of the Revolution, while the losers were its bitter opponents.

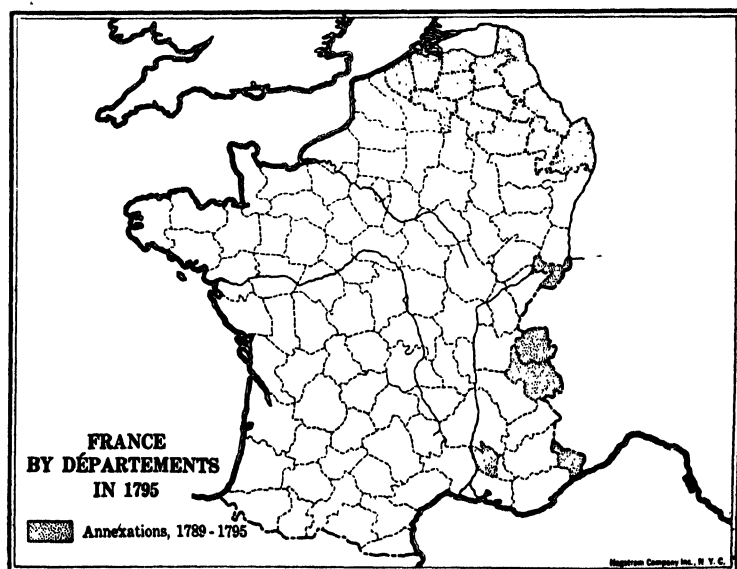
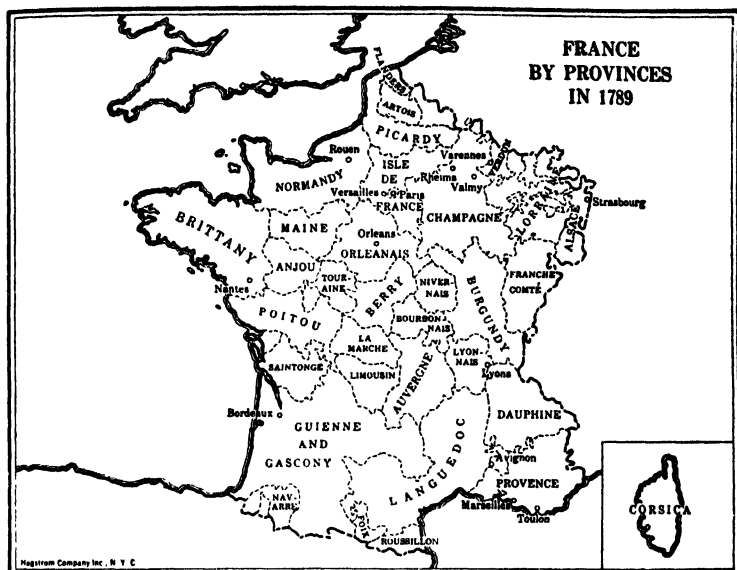
The second great work of the Assembly was the proclamation of individual rights and liberties. The old society and govern-

**Declara-  
tion of the  
Rights of  
Man and  
of the  
Citizen**

ment of France were disappearing. On what basis should the new be erected? Great Britain had its *Magna Carta* and its Bill of Rights; America had its Declaration of Independence. France was now given a "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen."

This document, which reflected the spirit of Rousseau's philosophy, and incorporated some of the British and American provisions, became the platform of the French Revolution and tremendously influenced political thought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A few of its most striking sentences were as follows: "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights." The rights of man are "liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression." "Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its formation. It must be the same for all." "No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law." Religious toleration, freedom of speech, and liberty of the press were affirmed. The people were to control the finances, and to the people all officials of the state were responsible. Finally, the influence of the propertied classes, which were overwhelmingly represented in the Assembly, showed itself in the concluding section of the Declaration: "Since private property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified."

The next great undertaking of the National Assembly was the establishment of a new and uniform administrative system





in France. The ancient and confusing "provinces," "governments," "intendancies," "*pays d'état*," "*pays d'élection*," "parlements," and "bailliages" were swept away. The country was divided anew into eighty-three départements, approximately uniform in size and population, and named after natural features, such as rivers or mountains. Each département was subdivided into districts (cantons) and communes,—divisions which have endured in France to the present day. The heads of the local government were no longer to be appointed by the crown; they were to be elected by the people, and extensive powers were granted to elective local councils. Provision was made for a new system of law courts throughout the country, and the judges, like the administrative officials, were to be elected by popular vote. Projects were likewise put forward to unify and simplify the great variety of laws which prevailed in different parts of France, but this work was not brought to completion until the time of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Back of all the projects and achievements of the National Assembly was an evident desire to emphasize the national unity of France as well as the popular sovereignty of Frenchmen. Indeed, the sudden rise of modern nationalism was one of the most impressive features of the French Revolution. It was at once a consequence of heightened national feeling and an incentive to the most intense national patriotism that class privileges were swept away and all Frenchmen were treated as equals; that the old provinces were abolished and the new départements set up; that the traditional Estates General were reorganized as the *National Assembly* and its protecting popular army took the name of *National Guard*; that, according to the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," "the principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the *nation*—no body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the *nation*."

Nationalism was further exemplified by the eagerness with which the revolutionaries sought to organize systems of national education and national military service, and, even more ostentatiously, by the fervor with which they established and celebrated patriotic rites. If 14 July, 1789, was the birthday of French liberty, then 14 July, 1790, inaugurated the formal

Reform  
of Local  
Govern-  
ment

The New  
National-  
ism

celebration of French nationalism. On this day some 50,000 delegates from all parts of France, including 14,000 national guardsmen, assembled on the military parade-grounds in Paris in the presence of the National Assembly, the king and queen, and a vast multitude of Parisians; two hundred priests assisted at Mass; 1,200 musicians played; forty cannon were fired; and all the delegates and all the multitude, with upraised hands, took a solemn oath of supreme loyalty and devotion to the fatherland. At this time and thereafter it became fashionable for every city and village throughout France to erect an altar "to the fatherland," to engrave upon it the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen," and to conduct patriotic rites before it.

Nationalism not only actuated much of the reconstruction and consolidation within France, but also inspired the French revolutionaries with a novel doctrine in foreign relations—the doctrine of national self-determination. To the patriotic revolutionaries it seemed natural and praiseworthy that any people who wished to be "French" should be incorporated into France, regardless of the provisions of existing treaties and of the protests of nominal sovereigns. Thus, the National Assembly encouraged the people of Avignon—a city on the Rhône River which had been owned and governed by the popes since the middle ages—to claim and exercise the right of national self-determination. In 1791, under French auspices and against papal protests, a plebiscite (or popular referendum) was held in Avignon, and, the result being favorable to France, the National Assembly voted to annex the city. Here was the beginning of national plebiscites and of a foreign policy which threatened to revolutionize international relations.

In the meantime, in addition to nationalist policies, another grave matter was concerning the National Assembly. This was the regulation of public finances. It will be recalled that financial confusion had been the royal reason for the original summoning of the Estates General. Then, in the early days of the National Assembly, the confusion had become chaos: the people refused to pay the old direct taxes; the Assembly, in its passion for national unity and economic liberty, destroyed the complicated and burdensome old system of indirect taxes; and bankers could not be induced to

**National  
Self-De-  
termination**

**Financial  
Difficulties  
and Ex-  
pedients**

make new loans. The Assembly, therefore, had to resort to heroic measures in order to save the state from complete bankruptcy, and the heroic measures finally decided upon were at the expense of the Catholic Church in France.

The church, as we have seen, owned about a fifth of the soil of France, and the Assembly resolved to seize these extensive church lands, and to utilize them as security for the issue of paper money—the *assignats*. As partial indemnity for such wholesale confiscation, the state was to undertake the payment of fixed salaries to the clergy. Thus by a single stroke the financial pressure was relieved, the church was deprived of an important source of its strength, and the clergy were made dependent on the new order. Of course, as often happens in similar cases, the issue of paper money was so increased that in time it exceeded the security and brought fresh financial troubles to the state, but for the moment the worst dangers were tided over.

The ecclesiastical policies and acts of the National Assembly were perhaps the least efficacious and the most fateful achievements of the Revolution. Yet it would be difficult to perceive how they could have been less radical than they were. The church appeared to be indissolubly linked with the fortunes of the “old régime”; the clergy comprised a particularly privileged class; and the leaders and great majority of the Assembly were filled with the deistic or sceptical philosophy of the “Enlightenment.” In November, 1789, the church property was confiscated. In February, 1790, the monasteries and other religious communities were suppressed. In April, absolute religious toleration was proclaimed. In July, 1790, the “civil constitution of the clergy” was enacted, by which the bishops and priests, reduced in numbers, were made a civil body. They were to be elected by the people, paid by the state, and only nominally associated with the “foreign” pope. In December, the Assembly forced the reluctant king to sign a decree compelling all the Catholic clergy in France to take a solemn oath of allegiance to the “civil constitution.”

Pope Pius VI, who had already protested against the seizure of church property, the suppression of the monasteries, and the interference in Avignon, now condemned the “civil constitution”

and forbade the French clergy to take the required oath. Thus, the issue was squarely joined. Such as took the oath—the “juring” clergy—were excommunicated by the pope. Such as refused compliance—the “non-juring” clergy—were deprived of their salaries by the Assembly and threatened with imprisonment. Up to this time, the bulk of the lower clergy, poor themselves and in immediate contact with the peasants, had undoubtedly sympathized with the course of the Revolution, but henceforth their convictions and their consciences came into conflict with devotion to the Assembly. Most of them followed their conscience and either incited peasants, over whom they exercised considerable influence, to oppose further revolution, or emigrated from France to swell the number of those who, dissatisfied with the course of events in their own country, would seek the first opportunity to undo the work of the Assembly. On the other hand, a minority of the clergy, led by the bishop Talleyrand, took the oath of allegiance to the “civil constitution” and attempted to maintain the traditional Catholic worship in France, albeit a national Catholic worship in schism with the papacy. However, the most sincere Catholics could be counted with most of the hereditary nobles as opponents of the French Revolution.

Jurors and  
Non-  
Jurors

Amid all these sweeping reforms and changes, the National Constituent Assembly was making steady progress in drafting a written constitution which would clearly define the agencies of government, and their respective powers, in the new limited monarchy. This constitution was completed in 1791 and signed by the king—he could do nothing else—and at once went into effect. It was the first written constitution of any importance that any European country had had, and was preceded only slightly in point of time by that of the United States.<sup>1</sup>

The Con-  
stitution of  
1791: the  
Limited  
Monarchy

The Constitution of 1791, as it was called, provided, like the American constitution, for the “separation of powers,” that is, that the law-making, law-enforcing, and law-interpreting functions of government should be kept quite distinct as the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, and should each spring, in last analysis, from the will of the people. This idea had been

<sup>1</sup> The present American constitution was drafted in 1787 and went into effect in 1789, the year that the Estates General assembled. See above, pp. 488-489.

elaborated by Montesquieu, and affected deeply the constitution-making of the eighteenth century both in France and in the United States.

The legislative authority was vested in one chamber, styled the "Legislative Assembly," the members of which were chosen by means of a complicated system of indirect election.<sup>1</sup> The distrust with which the bourgeois framers of the constitution regarded the lower classes was shown not only in this check upon direct election but also in the requirements that the privilege of voting should be exercised exclusively by "active" citizens, that is, by citizens who paid taxes, and that the right to hold office should be restricted to property-holders.

Nominally the executive authority resided in the hereditary king. But, while the Constitution of 1791 accorded to the king the right to postpone for a time the execution of an act of the legislature—the so-called "suspensive veto"—it deprived him of all control over local government, over the army and navy, and over the clergy. Even his ministers were not to sit in the Assembly. Tremendous had been the decline of royal power in France during those two years, 1789-1791.

This may conclude our brief summary of the work of the National Constituent Assembly. If we review it as a whole, we are impressed by the immense destruction which it effected. No other body of legislators has ever demolished so much in the same brief period. The old form of government, the old territorial divisions, the old financial system, the old judicial and legal regulations, the old ecclesiastical arrangements, and, most significant of all, the old condition of holding land—serfdom and feudalism—all were shattered. The guilds, too, were destroyed, and combinations of workmen were prohibited.

Yet all this destruction was not a mad whim of the moment. It had been preparing slowly and painfully for many generations. It was foreshadowed by the mass of well-considered complaints in the *cahiers*. It was achieved not only by the decrees of the Assembly, but by the forceful expression of the popular and national will. And out of the destruction was emerging the

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the people would vote for electors, and the electors for the members of the Assembly.

political and social form of the essentially individualist, democratic, nationalist state of a new age.

### 3. END OF THE MONARCHY AND BEGINNING OF NATIONAL WAR

Great public rejoicing welcomed the formal inauguration of the constitutional monarchy in 1791. Many believed that a new era of peace and prosperity was dawning for France. Yet the extravagant hopes which were widely entertained for the success of the new régime were doomed to speedy and bitter disappointment. The new government encountered all manner of difficulties, the country rapidly grew more radical in sentiment and action, and within a single year the limited monarchy gave way to a republic. The establishment of the republic was the second great phase of the Revolution. Why it was possible and even inevitable may be gathered from a survey of developments in France during 1792, when the Legislative Assembly was in session, especially the outbreak of national war and the "treason" of Louis XVI.

By no means did all Frenchmen accept cheerfully and contentedly the work of the National Constituent Assembly. Of the numerous dissenters, some thought it went too far and some thought it did not go far enough. The former may be styled "reactionaries" and the latter "radicals."

The reactionaries embraced the bulk of the formerly privileged nobility and the non-juring clergy. The nobles had begun to leave France as soon as the first signs of violence appeared—about the time of the fall of the Bastille and the peasant uprisings in the provinces. Many of the clergy similarly departed from their homes when the anti-clerical measures of the Assembly rendered it no longer possible for them to follow the dictates of conscience. These reactionary exiles, or émigrés as they were termed, collected in force along the northern and eastern frontier, especially at Coblenz on the Rhine. They possessed an influential leader in the king's own brother, the count of Artois, and they maintained a perpetual agitation, by means of newspapers, pamphlets, and intrigues, against the new régime. They were anxious to regain their privileges and incomes, and to restore everything, as far as possible, to the position it had occupied prior to 1789.

**Difficulties  
Confronting the  
Limited  
Monarchy**

**"Reactionaries"  
and  
"Radicals"**

**The Reactionaries**

**The  
Émigrés**

Nor were the reactionaries devoid of support within France. It was believed that the royal family, now carefully watched in Paris, sympathized with their efforts. So long as Mirabeau, the ablest leader in the National Assembly, was alive, he had never ceased urging the king to accept the reforms of the Revolution and to give no countenance to agitation beyond the frontiers. In case the king should find his position in Paris intolerable, he had been advised by Mirabeau to withdraw into western or southern France and gather the loyal nation about him. But unfortunately, Mirabeau, worn out by dissipation and cares, died prematurely in April, 1791.

Only two months later the royal family attempted to follow the course against which they had been warned. Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, in an effort to rid themselves of the spying vigilance of the Parisians, disguised themselves, fled from the capital, and made straight for the eastern frontier, apparently to join the émigrés. At Varennes, near the border, the royal fugitives were recognized and turned back to Paris, which henceforth was for them rather a prison than a capital. Although Louis subsequently swore a solemn oath to uphold the constitution, his personal popularity vanished with his ill-starred flight, and his wife—the hated “Austrian woman”—was suspected with good reason of being in secret correspondence with the émigrés as well as with foreign governments. Marie Antoinette was more detested than ever. The elder of the king’s brothers, the count of Provence, was more successful than the king in the flight of June, 1791. He eluded detection and joined the count of Artois at Coblenz.

Had the reactionaries been restricted entirely to émigrés and the royal family, it is hardly possible that they would have been so troublesome as they were. They included, however, a considerable number of persons in France. A small group in the Assembly shared their views and proposed the most extravagant measures in order to embarrass the work of that body. Conservative clubs existed among the upper and well-to-do classes in the larger cities. And in certain districts of western France, especially in Brittany, Poitou (La Vendée), and Anjou, the peasants developed hostility to the course of the Revolution. Their extraordinary de-

**The At-  
tempted  
Flight of  
the King**

**Reaction-  
aries  
within  
France**

votion to Catholicism placed them under the influence of the non-juring clergy, and their class feeling against townspeople induced them to believe that the Revolution, carried forward by the bourgeoisie, was essentially in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Riots occurred in La Vendée throughout 1791 and 1792 with increasing frequency until at length the district blazed into open rebellion against the radicals.

More dangerous to the political settlement of 1791 than the opposition of the reactionaries was that of the radicals—those Frenchmen who thought that the Revolution had not gone far enough. The leading radicals were drawn from the middle class (the bourgeoisie), which had done most to effect the revolutionary changes of 1789-1791 and had profited most from such changes. Elated by what they had already accomplished, they were driven on by the king's pusillanimous conduct, by the rising tide of emotional nationalism about them, and by their own idealism to aspire to giving full effect to the precepts of Rousseau and other eighteenth-century philosophers in whose writings they had been reared. Gradually they came to believe that "the people" could be trusted far more than the king, that republicanism was preferable to monarchy, even to constitutional monarchy, and that thoroughgoing democracy was the natural goal of all revolutionary effort. Some especially denounced the distinction between "active" and "passive" citizens. Some desired the rooting out of all survivals of "privilege," particularly the rights still accorded to religion, even to the "juring" clergy. Most of them demanded sterner measures against aristocrats, clergymen, and everybody suspected of sympathy with the "old régime." Many of them, in the growing enthusiasm for individual equality and national unity, began to take a lively interest in the economic lot of the mass of degraded, ignorant, and poverty-stricken working people (the proletariat) of the cities.

Among the proletariat, especially in Paris, there was as much unrest in 1791-1792 as there had been among the provincial peasantry in 1789. To be sure, the urban working class, like the peasants, had been promised by paper documents certain theoretical "rights and liberties," but, while the peasants had been freed from serfdom and enabled to appropriate land from aristocrats, what had been done for

The  
Radicals

The Urban  
Prole-  
tarians



the material well-being of urban workers? They had obtained no property. Not even the installation of the king in Paris had given them bread. Now, in 1791, cut off by the provisions of the new constitution from all direct share in the conduct of government, they naturally felt that, so far in the Révolution, they had merely exchanged one set of masters for another, that at the expense of nobles and clergy they had exalted the bourgeoisie, and that the Revolution must go on until their own economic grievances, as well as the political grievances of the bourgeoisie, should be redressed.

In the circumstances, the radical movement in France represented, after 1791, a new alignment. Hitherto there had been a union of the "Third Estate" with "enlightened" nobles like Mirabeau and "enlightened" clergymen like Sieyes and Talleyrand for the benefit of middle class and peasantry. Henceforth there was a union of radical middle-class leaders with and for the urban proletariat. Probably in many instances it was for the selfish motive of personal ambition that this or that middle-class politician prated much about his love for "the people" and shed tears over their wretchedness and extolled their "virtue." But in many other instances the motive was undoubtedly altruistic. We can hardly overemphasize the fanatical zeal with which numerous middle-class radicals labored after 1791 to bring about a democratic, republican, nationalist millennium in France and on the earth. They would utilize any class for their unworldly ends, and they instinctively discovered that the proletariat—the common people—could so be utilized.

The radical movement centred in Paris, where now resided the royal family and where the legislature met. Its agitation made rapid headway during 1791 and 1792, by means of inflammatory newspapers, coarse pamphlets, and bitter speeches. It appealed to both middle-class reason and popular emotions. It was backed up and rendered effective by the revolutionary "clubs."

**The Radical Clubs**

These clubs were interesting seats of political and social agitation. Their origin was traceable to the "eating clubs" which had been formed at Versailles in 1789 by various deputies of the Estates General who desired to take their meals together, but the idea progressed so far that by 1791 nearly every café in Paris was a meeting place for politicians and "patriots." Although

some of the clubs were strictly constitutional, and even, in a few instances, professedly reactionary, nevertheless the greater number and the most influential were radical. Such were the Cordelier and Jacobin clubs. The former, organized as a "society of the friends of the rights of man and of the citizen," was very radical from its inception and enrolled in its membership some of the foremost revolutionaries of Paris. The Jacobin Club, starting out as a "society of the friends of the constitution," counted among its early members such men as Mirabeau, Sieyes, and Lafayette, but subsequently, under the leadership of Robespierre, it was transformed into an organization quite as radical as the Cordeliers. It is an interesting fact that both these radical clubs derived their popular names from monasteries, in whose confiscated buildings they customarily held their meetings.

The  
Jacobins

From Paris the radical movement radiated in all directions. Pamphlets and newspapers were spread broadcast. The Jacobin Club established a regular correspondence with branch clubs or kindred societies which sprang up in other French towns. The radicals—commonly called the "Jacobins"—were everywhere inspired by the same zeal and aided by a splendid organization.

Of the chief radical leaders, it may be convenient at this point to introduce three—Marat, Danton, and Robespierre. All belonged to the bourgeoisie by birth and training, but by conviction they became the mouthpieces of the proletariat. All played important rôles in subsequent scenes of the Revolution.

Radical  
Leaders

Marat (1742-1793), had he never become interested in politics and conspicuous in the Revolution, might have been remembered in history as a scientist and a man of letters. He had been a physician, and for skill in his profession, as well as for contributions to the science of physics, he had received an honorary degree from St. Andrews University in Scotland, and for a time he was in the service of the count of Artois. The convocation of the Estates General turned his attention to public affairs. In repeated and vigorous pamphlets he combated the idea then prevalent in France that his countrymen should adopt a constitution similar to that of Great Britain. During several years' sojourn in Great Britain he had observed that that country was being ruled by an aristocratic oligarchy which, while using

Marat

the forms of liberty and pretending to represent the country, was in reality using its power for the promotion of its own narrow class interests. He made up his mind that real reform must benefit all the people alike and that it could be secured only by direct popular action. This was the simple message that filled the pages of the *Ami du peuple*—the *Friend of the People*—a newspaper which he edited from 1789 to 1792. With fierce invective he assailed the court, the clergy, the nobles, even the bourgeois Assembly. Attached to no party and with no detailed policies, he sacrificed almost everything to his single mission. No poverty, misery, or persecution could keep him quiet. Forced even to hide in cellars and sewers, where he contracted a loathsome skin disease, he persevered in his frenzied appeals to the Parisian populace to take matters into their own hands. By 1792 Marat was a man feared and hated by the authorities but loved and venerated by the masses of the capital.<sup>1</sup>

Less radical and far more statesmanlike was Danton (1759–1794), who has been called “a middle-class Mirabeau.” The son of a farmer, he had studied law, had purchased a position as advocate of the Royal Council, and, before the outbreak of the Revolution, had acquired a reputation not only as a brilliant young lawyer, but also as a man of liberal tastes, fond of books, and happy in his domestic life. Like Mirabeau, he was a person of powerful physique and of stentorian voice, a skilled debater and a convincing orator. Unlike Mirabeau, he himself remained calm and self-possessed while arousing his audiences to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Like Mirabeau, again, he was not so primarily interested in the welfare of his own social class as in that of the class below him; what the nobleman Mirabeau was to the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois Danton was to the Parisian proletariat. Brought to the fore, through the favor of Mirabeau, in the early days of the Revolution, Danton at once showed himself a strong advocate of thoroughgoing democracy. In 1790, in conjunction with Marat and Camille Desmoulins, he founded the Cordelier Club, the activities of which he directed throughout 1791 and 1792 against the royal family and the whole cause of monarchy. An influential member of the commune of Paris, he was largely

<sup>1</sup> Marat was assassinated in July, 1793, by Charlotte Corday, a young woman who was fanatically attached to the Girondist faction. (See below, pp. 625, 629.)

instrumental in crystallizing public opinion in favor of republicanism. Danton was rough and courageous, but neither venal nor bloodthirsty.

Less practical than Danton and further removed from the proletariat than Marat, Maximilien Robespierre (1758-1794) yet combined such qualities as made him the most prominent exponent of democracy and republicanism. Robespierre Of a middle-class family, Robespierre had been a class-mate of Camille Desmoulins in the law school of the University of Paris, and had practiced law with some success in his native town of Arras. He was appointed a criminal judge, but soon resigned that post because he could not endure to inflict the death penalty. In his immediate circle he acquired a reputation as a writer, speaker, and something of a dandy. Elected to the Third Estate in 1789, he took his place with the extreme radicals in that body—the “thirty voices,” as Mirabeau contemptuously called them. Robespierre had read Rousseau from cover to cover and believed in the philosopher’s doctrines with all his mind and heart. In the belief that they eventually would be adopted and would regenerate France and all mankind, he worked with unwearied patience. The paucity of his followers in the National Assembly and the overpowering personality of Mirabeau prevented him from exercising much influence in framing the new constitution, and he gradually turned for support to the people of Paris. He was already a member of the Jacobin Club, which, by the withdrawal of its more conservative members in 1791, came then under his leadership. Thereafter the Jacobin Club was a most effective instrument for promoting social democracy (although it was not formally committed to republicanism until August, 1792), and Robespierre was its oracle. Robespierre was never a demagogue in the present sense of the word; he was always emphatically a gentleman and a man of culture, sincere and truthful. Although he labored strenuously for the “rights” of the proletariat, he never catered to their tastes; to the last day of his life he retained the knee-breeches and silk stockings of the old society and wore his hair powdered.

We are now in a position to understand why the constitutional monarchy floundered. It had no great leaders to strengthen it and to conduct it through the narrow strait. It was bound to strike the rocks of reaction on one side or those of radicalism on

the other. Against such fearless and determined assailants as Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, it was helpless.

The new government came into being with the first meeting of the Legislative Assembly on 1 October, 1791. Immediately its troubles began. The members of the Legislative Assembly were wholly inexperienced in parliamentary procedure, for an unfortunate self-denying ordinance<sup>1</sup> of the retiring Constituent Assembly had prohibited any of its members from accepting election to the new body. The Legislative Assembly contained deputies of fundamentally diverse views who quarrelled long though eloquently among themselves. Moreover, it speedily came into conflict with the king, who vainly endeavored to use his constitutional right of suspensive veto in order to check its activities. Combined with these problems was the popular agitation and excitement: a peasant revolt in La Vendée; the angry threats of émigré nobles and non-juring clergy across the eastern frontier; the loud tumults of the proletariat of Paris and of other large cities as well.

The difficulties of the limited monarchy were complicated by an embarrassing foreign situation. It will be borne in mind that all important European states still adhered rigidly to the social institutions of the "old régime" and, with the exception of Great Britain, to absolutist monarchy. Outside of France there appeared as yet no such thing as "public opinion," certainly no sign among the lower classes of any opinion favorable to revolution. In Great Britain alone was there a constitutional monarchy, and in the early days of the French Revolution, so long as British statesmen could flatter themselves that their neighbors across the Channel were striving to imitate their political system, these same public men sympathized with the course of events. But when it became evident that the Revolution was going farther, that it aimed at a great social levelling, that it was a movement of and for the masses, then even British criticism assailed it. At the close of 1790 Edmund Burke published his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, a bitter arraignment of the newer tendencies and a rhetorical panegyric of conservatism. Although Burke's sensational work was speedily answered by several forceful thinkers, including the brilliant Thomas Paine,<sup>2</sup> nevertheless it long held its place as the classical expression of

<sup>1</sup> Sponsored by Robespierre.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 481-482.

official Britain's horror of social equality and "mob violence." Burke's book was likewise received with such approval by the monarchs of continental Europe, who interpreted it as a telling defense of their position, that Catherine II of Russia personally complimented the author and the puppet king of Poland sent him a letter of flamboyant glorification and a gold medal. The monarchs of Europe, as well as the nobles and clergy, saw in the French Revolution only a menace to their political and social privileges. Were it communicated to the lower classes, the Revolution might work the same havoc throughout the length and breadth of Europe that it was working in France. The "benevolent despots" had sincere desires to labor for the welfare of the people; they shuddered at the thought of what the people would do in laboring for their own welfare.

**Growing  
British  
Hostility  
to the  
French  
Revolution**

Of the monarchs of Europe, several had special reasons for viewing the progress of the Revolution with misgiving. The Bourbons of Spain and of the Two Sicilies were united by blood and family compacts with the ruling dynasty of France; any belittling of the latter's power was likely to affect disastrously the domestic position and foreign prestige of the former. Then, too, the French queen, Marie Antoinette, was an Austrian Habsburg. Her family interests were in measure at stake. In the Austrian dominions, the visionary and unpractical Joseph II had died in 1790 and had been succeeded by another brother of Marie Antoinette, the gifted though unemotional Emperor Leopold II. Leopold skillfully extricated himself from the embarrassments at home and abroad bequeathed him by his predecessor and then turned his attention to French affairs. He was in receipt of constant and now frantic appeals from his sister to aid Louis XVI against the revolutionaries. He knew that the Austrian Netherlands, whose rebellion he had suppressed with difficulty,<sup>1</sup> were saturated with sympathy for the Revolution and that many of their inhabitants would welcome annexation to France. As chief of the Holy Roman Empire, he must keep revolutionary agitation out of Germany and protect the border provinces against French aggression. All these factors served to make the Emperor Leopold the foremost champion of the "old

**Special  
Concern  
of the  
Austrian  
Habsburgs**

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 352.

régime" in Europe and incidentally of the royal cause in France.

Now it so happened that the emperor found an ally in Prussia. The death of Frederick the Great in 1786 had called to the throne of that country a distinctly inferior sort of potentate, Frederick William II (1786-1797),<sup>1</sup> who combined with a nature at once sensual and pleasure-loving a remarkable religious zeal. He neglected the splendid military machine which Frederick William I and Frederick the Great had constructed with infinite patience and thoroughness. He lavished great wealth upon art as well as upon favorites and mistresses. He tired the nation with an excessive Protestant orthodoxy. In foreign affairs he reversed the policy of his predecessor by allying himself with Austria and accepting for Prussia a secondary rôle among the German states. In August, 1791, Frederick William II joined with the Emperor Leopold in issuing the public Declaration of Pillnitz, to the effect that the two rulers considered the restoration of order and of monarchy in France an object of "common interest to all sovereigns of Europe." The declaration was hardly more than pompous bluster, for the armies of the German allies were not as yet ready for war, but its solemn expression of an intention on the part of foreign despots to interfere in the internal affairs of France aroused the most bitter feeling among the mass of Frenchmen, who were patriotic as well as revolutionary.

The prospect of war with the blustering monarchs of Austria and Prussia was quite welcome to several important factions in France. Marie Antoinette and her court clique gradually came to the conclusion that their reactionary cause would be aided by war. If the allies won, absolutism could be restored in France by force of arms. If the French won, it would redound to the prestige of the royal family and enable them by constitutional means to recover their authority. Then, too, the constitutionalists, the bourgeois party which was led by Lafayette and which loyally supported the settlement of 1791, worked for war. Military success, in their opinion, would consolidate the French people in loyalty to the constitution, and Lafayette aspired to win personal glory as a victorious commander. Finally, the overwhelming majority

**Prussian  
Support of  
Austria**

**French  
Groups  
Favorable  
to War**

See above, p. 356.

of radicals cried for war. To them it seemed as if the liberal monarchy would be completely discomfited by war and that out of it would emerge a republic in France and the general triumph of democratic principles in Europe. Why not stir up all the European peoples against their monarchs? The cause of France should be the cause of Europe. France should be the missionary of the new dispensation.

The Legislative Assembly, on which depended in last instance the solution of all these vital problems, domestic and foreign, represented several diverse shades of political opinion. Of the 750 members, 350 admitted no special leadership but voted independently on every question according to individual preference or fear, while the others were divided between the camp of "Feuillants" and that of "Girondists." The Feuillants were the constitutionalists, inclined, while in general consistently championing the settlement of 1791, to strengthen the royal power,—they were the conservatives of the Assembly. The Girondists—so called because some of their conspicuous members came from the département of the Gironde—were the radicals.

The Girondists were eloquent and intensely patriotic and were filled with noble, if somewhat unpractical, "classical" ideas borrowed from the ancient republics of Greece and Rome. They were eager to discredit Louis XVI and to establish a republic in France. In Brissot (1754-1793), a Parisian lawyer, they had an admirable leader and organizer. In Vergniaud (1753-1793), they had a polished and convincing orator. In Condorcet (1743-1794), they had a brilliant scholar and philosopher. In Dumouriez (1739-1823), they possessed a military genius of the first order. And in the refined home of the talented Madame Roland (1754-1793), they had a charming salon for political discussion.

**The Girondists**

In internal affairs the Legislative Assembly accomplished next to nothing. Everything was subordinated to the question of foreign war. Here, Feuillants and Girondists found themselves in strange agreement. Only such extreme radicals as Marat and Robespierre, outside the Assembly, opposed a policy which they feared would give rise to a military dictatorship. Marat expressed his alarms in the *Friend of the People*: "What afflicts the friends of liberty is that we have more to fear from success than from defeat; . . . the danger is lest one of our



generals be crowned with victory and lest . . . he lead his victorious army against the capital to secure the triumph of the Despot." But the counsels of extreme radicals were unavailing.

In the excitement the Girondists obtained control of the government and demanded of the emperor that the Austrian troops be withdrawn from the frontier and that the émigrés be expelled from his territories. As no action was taken by the emperor, the Girondist ministers prevailed upon Louis XVI to declare war on 20 April, 1792. Lafayette assumed supreme command, and the French prepared for the struggle. Although Leopold had just died, his policy was followed by his son and successor, the Emperor Francis II. Francis and Frederick William II of Prussia speedily collected an army of 80,000 men at Coblenz with which to invade France. The campaign of 1792 was the first stage in a vast conflict which was destined to rage throughout Europe for twenty-three years. It was the beginning of the international contest between the forces of revolution and those of the old order.

Enthusiasm was with the French. They felt they were fighting for a cause—the cause of liberty, equality, and nationalism. Men put on red liberty caps, and such as possessed no firearms equipped themselves with pikes and hastened to the front. Troops coming up from Marseilles sang in Paris a new hymn of freedom which Rouget de Lisle had just composed at Strasbourg for the French soldiers,—the inspiring *Marseillaise* that was to become the national anthem of France. But enthusiasm was about the only asset that the French possessed. Their armies were ill-organized and ill-disciplined. Provisions were scarce, arms were inferior, and fortified places in poor repair. Lafayette had greater ambition than ability.

The war opened; therefore, with a series of French reverses. An attempted invasion of the Austrian Netherlands ended in  
**Initial**           dismal failure. On the eastern frontier the allied armies  
**French**           under the duke of Brunswick <sup>1</sup> experienced little diffi-  
**Reverses**       culty in opening up a line of march to Paris. Intense  
grew the excitement in the French capital. The reverses gave color to the suspicion that the royal family were betraying military plans to the enemy. A big demonstration took place on

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 343.

20 June. A crowd of market women, artisans, coal heavers, and hod carriers pushed through the royal residence, jostling and threatening the king and queen. No violence was done, but the temper of the Parisian proletariat was quite evident. Yet Louis and Marie Antoinette simply would not learn their lesson. Despite repeated and solemn assurances to the contrary, they were actually in constant secret communication with the invading forces. The king was beseeching aid from foreign rulers in order to crush his own people; the queen was supplying the generals of the allies with the French plans of campaign. The new constitutional monarchy failed in the stress of war.

#### 4. JACOBINISM TRIUMPHANT

On 25 July, 1792, the duke of Brunswick, the old-fashioned commander-in-chief of the allied armies, issued a proclamation to the French people. He declared it his purpose "to put an end to the anarchy in the interior of France, to check the attacks upon the throne and the altar, to reëstablish the legal power, to restore to the king the security and liberty of which he is now deprived and to place him in a position to exercise once more the legitimate authority which belongs to him." The duke went boldly on to declare that French soldiers who might be captured "shall be treated as enemies and punished as rebels to their king and as disturbers of the public peace," and that, if the slightest harm befell any member of the royal family, his Austrian and Prussian troops would "inflict an ever memorable vengeance by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and complete destruction, and the rebels guilty of such outrages to the punishment that they merit." This foolish and insolent manifesto sealed the fate of the French monarchy. It convinced the revolutionaries that French royalty and foreign armies were in formal alliance to undo what had been done.

The French reply to the duke of Brunswick was the insurrection of 9-10 August, 1792. On those days the proletariat and extreme radicals among the bourgeoisie of Paris revolted against the constitutional monarchy. They supplanted the legal commune with a radically revolutionary commune, in which Danton became the leading figure. They invaded the royal palace, massacred the Swiss

**Allied Intentions against the French Revolution**

**The Parisian Insurrection of August, 1792**

Guards, and obliged the king and his family to flee for their lives to the Assembly. On 10 August, a remnant of terror-stricken deputies voted to suspend the king from his office and to authorize the immediate election by universal manhood suffrage of a National Convention which should prepare a new constitution for France.

From the suspension of the king on 10 August to the assembling of the National Convention on 20 September, France was practically anarchical. The royal family was incarcerated in the gloomy prison of the Temple. The regular governmental agents were paralyzed. Lafayette protested against the insurrection at Paris and surrendered himself to the allies.

Still the allies advanced into France. Fear deepened into panic. Supreme control fell into the hands of the revolutionary commune. Danton became virtual dictator. His policy was simple. The one path of safety left open to the radicals was to strike terror into the hearts of their domestic and foreign foes. "In my opinion," said Danton, "the way to stop the enemy is to terrify the royalists. Audacity, more audacity, and always greater audacity!" The news of the investment of Verdun by the allies, published at Paris on 2 September, was the signal for the beginning of a wholesale massacre of royalists in the French capital. For five long days unfortunate royalists were taken from the prisons and handed over by a self-constituted judicial body to the tender mercies of a band of hired cutthroats. Slight discrimination was made of rank, sex, or age. Men, women, and children, nobles and magistrates, priests and bishops,—all who were suspected of royalist sympathy were butchered. The number of victims of these September massacres has been variously estimated at from 1,000 to 2,000.

Meanwhile Danton was infusing new life and new spirit into the French armies. Dumouriez replaced Lafayette in supreme command. And on 20 September the allies received their first check at Valmy.

The very day on which news reached Paris that it was saved and that Brunswick was in retreat, the National Convention, amid the wildest enthusiasm, unanimously decreed "that royalty is abolished in France." Then it was resolved to date from 22 September, 1792, Year I of

**The Suspension of King and Constitution**

**The Dictatorship of Danton**

**Stopping the Allies**

**Proclaiming the Republic**

the Republic. A decree of perpetual banishment was enacted against the émigrés and it was soon determined to bring the king to trial before the Convention.

The National Convention remained in session for three years (1792-1795), and its work constituted the second great phase of the Revolution. This work was essentially twofold: (1) It secured a series of great victories in the foreign war, thereby rendering permanent the remarkable social reforms of the first period of the Revolution, that between 1789 and 1791; and (2) it constructed a republican form of government, based on the principle of democracy.

The  
National  
Convention

Perhaps no legislative body in history has been called upon to solve such knotty problems as those which confronted the National Convention at the opening of its session. At that time it was necessary (1) to decide what should be done with the deposed and imprisoned king; (2) to organize the national defense and turn back foreign invasion; (3) to suppress insurrection within France; (4) to provide a strong government for the country; (5) to complete and consolidate the social reforms of the earlier stage of the Revolution; and (6) to frame a new constitution and to establish permanent republican institutions. The Convention coped with all these questions with infinite industry and much success. And in the following pages, we shall review them in the order indicated, although it should be borne in mind that most of them were considered by the Convention simultaneously.

Before taking up the work of the Convention, a word should be said about the personnel of the body. The elections had been in theory by universal manhood suffrage, but in practice indifference or intimidation reduced the actual voters to about a tenth of the total electorate. The result was the return of a large number of determined radicals, who, while agreeing on the fundamental republican doctrines, nevertheless differed about details. On the right of the Convention sat nearly two hundred Girondists, including Brissot, Vergniaud, Condorcet, and the interesting Thomas Paine. These men represented largely the well-to-do bourgeoisie who were more radical in thought than in deed, who ardently desired a democratic republic, but who at the same time distrusted Paris and the proletariat. On the opposite side of the Convention sat nearly one hundred extreme

radicals, called "Jacobins" because they were active in the Jacobin Club, or "Mountainists" because in the Convention they occupied a "mountain" of high seats. These, including such men as Danton, Robespierre, Carnot, and St. Just, were middle-class persons, but they were militant disciples of Rousseau and strenuous champions of the Parisian proletariat.

Between the two factions of Mountainists and Girondists sat the "Plain," as it was called, the real majority of the house, which had no policies or convictions of its own, but voted usually according to the dictates of expediency. Our tactful, trimming Abbé Sieyès belonged to the Plain. At the very outset the Plain was likely to go with the Girondists, but as time went on and the Parisian populace clamored more and more loudly against anyone who opposed the action of their allies, the Mountainists, it gradually saw fit to transfer its affections to the Left.

The first serious question which faced the Convention was the disposition of the king. The discovery of an iron chest containing accounts of expenditures for bribing members of the National Constituent Assembly, coupled with the all but confirmed suspicion of Louis's double dealings with France and with foreign foes,<sup>1</sup> sealed the doom of that miserably weak monarch. He was brought to trial before the Convention in December, 1792, and condemned to death by a vote of 387 to 334. With the majority voted the king's own cousin, the duke of Orleans, an enthusiastic radical who had assumed the name of Citizen Philippe Égalité (Equality). On 21 January, 1793, Louis XVI was beheaded near the overthrown statue of his predecessor Louis XV in the Place de la Révolution (now called the Place de la Concorde). The unruffled dignity with which he met death was the finest behavior of his reign.

Meanwhile the tide of Austrian and Prussian invasion had been

<sup>1</sup> After the execution of the king, actual letters were discovered which Louis had despatched to his fellow monarchs, urging their assistance. A typical extract is given in Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, Vol. I, pp. 287-288.

rolling away from France. After Valmy, Dumouriez had pursued the retreating foreigners across the Rhine and had carried the war into the Austrian Netherlands, where a large party regarded the French as deliverers. Dumouriez entered Brussels without serious resistance, and was speedily master of the whole country. It seemed as though the French would have an easy task in delivering the peoples of Europe from their old régime.

**French  
Conquest  
of Belgium**

Emboldened by the ease with which its armies were overrunning the neighboring states, the National Convention proposed to propagate liberty and reform throughout Europe and in December, 1792, issued the following significant decree: "The French nation declares that it will treat as enemies every people who, refusing liberty and equality or renouncing them, may wish to maintain, recall, or treat with a prince and the privileged classes; on the other hand, it engages not to subscribe to any treaty and not to lay down its arms until the sovereignty and independence of the people whose territory the troops of the republic shall have entered shall be established, and until the people shall have adopted the principles of equality and founded a free and democratic government."

**The  
French  
as Foes of  
the Old  
Régime  
through-  
out Europe**

In thus throwing down the gauntlet to all the monarchs of Europe and in putting the issue clearly between democratic nationalism and the old régime, the French revolutionaries took a most fateful step. Although some middle-class intellectuals among foreign peoples undoubtedly sympathized with the aims and achievements of the French Revolution, the rulers and privileged classes of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and even Spain and Great Britain were still deeply entrenched in the patriotism and unquestioning loyalty of the masses. Then, too, the execution of Louis XVI in January, 1793, increased the bitterness of the approaching grave struggle. A royalist reaction in France itself precipitated civil war in La Vendée. Dumouriez, the ablest general of the day, in disgust deserted to the Austrians. And at this very time, a formidable coalition of frightened and revengeful monarchs was formed to overthrow the French Republic. To Austria and Prussia, already

**Royalist  
Reaction**

in the field, were added Great Britain, Holland, Spain, and Sardinia.

For a brief time the allied armies threatened to overwhelm France; they reoccupied Belgium and the Rhine provinces, and took the roads toward Paris. But the republic soon proved itself a far more resourceful and efficient government than the monarchy had been. Under the determined leadership of Carnot (1753-1823) and with the enthusiastic support of his fellow Jacobins, the Convention inaugurated a militarism which was quite novel in the world's annals. In February, 1793, a compulsory levy of half a million men was decreed, and in the following August it was enacted that every Frenchman between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five might be drafted for military service. Carnot labored incessantly to render these laws effectual and to organize the new "national" army. He drafted men, silenced complaints, secured extra volunteers, drilled the troops, and hurried them to the frontiers. He prepared plans of campaign, appointed trusty officers, and infused them and their men with fighting zeal. By the end of 1793 he had 770,000 men under arms,<sup>1</sup> and most of them were fanatically attached to the cause of the Revolution. Bourgeois citizens, whose social and financial gains in the earlier stage of the Revolution would be threatened by French defeat, applauded the new military measures. Artisans and peasants, who had won something and hoped to win more from the success of the Revolution, were put into the new armies, singing the *Marseillaise* and displaying the banners of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."

In organizing the new armies, Carnot, unhampered by tradition, made several significant innovations. He created the "division" as a military unit. He improved the mechanism of supply in order to make his forces more mobile than their opponents. He detailed members of the government as "deputies on mission" to watch the generalship and movements of the various French armies and to despatch to the guillotine any suspected or unsuccessful commander. Gradually, a new group of dashing young republican generals rose to distinction, including Moreau, Pichegru, and Jourdan.

<sup>1</sup> The standing French army prior to 1793 usually numbered a little less than 200,000, and the armies of other European powers were proportionately small.

The militarism of Carnot and the Jacobins was based on the revolutionary principle of "the nation in arms." It meant a large army of eager young conscripted citizens in place of a relatively small army of older and more easygoing professional soldiers, and a staff of officers whose position depended on merit rather than on birth. It was itself quite revolutionary. It broke utterly with the military traditions of monarchical France and all other countries of the time.

In this way France met the coalition which would have staggered a Louis XIV. The country was cleared of foreign enemies. The war was pressed in the Netherlands, along the Rhine, in Savoy, and across the Pyrenees. So successful were the French that Carnot's popular title of "organizer of defense" was justly magnified to that of "organizer of victory." Of course, it is impossible in our limited survey to do justice to these amazing campaigns of 1794 and 1795. It will suffice to point out that when the National Convention finally adjourned in 1795, the First Coalition was in reality dissolved. The pitiful Charles IV of Spain humbled himself to contract a close alliance with the republic which had put his Bourbon cousin to death. By the separate treaty of Basel (1795), Frederick William II of Prussia gave France a free hand on the left bank of the Rhine and turned his attention to the partition of Poland.<sup>1</sup> William V, the Orange stadholder of Holland, was deposed and his country transformed into the Batavian Republic, allied with France. French troops were in full possession of the Austrian Netherlands and all other territories up to the Rhine. The life-long ambition of Louis XIV appeared to have been realized by the new France in two brief years. Only Great Britain, Austria, and Sardinia remained in arms against the republic.

The  
Treaties of  
1795 with  
Spain,  
Prussia,  
and  
Holland

Yet the military successes of the republic were achieved at a terrible cost. They aroused an intolerant, militaristic spirit among large numbers of Frenchmen. They made the national army the chief concern and pride of the Revolutionaries. Public policies were more and more subordinated to the maintenance of soldiers and the assurance of military triumph. For

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 344-345, 382, and below, pp. 700-702. The absorption of Prussia (and Austria and Russia) in the partitions of Poland in 1793 and 1795 seriously sapped the strength of the coalition against revolutionary France.



the recruitment of the army, more and more peasants were taken from fields and shops; and for its financial support, oppressive burdens were laid on French commerce and industry while plunderings and indemnities were ruthlessly inflicted on conquered lands. No wonder that there was some protest at home, and that abroad the masses as well as the monarchs were filled with dread.

**Militarism  
and  
Suppression  
of  
Dissent  
within  
France**

Within France, opposition to Carnot's drafting of soldiers was utilized by reactionary agitators to stir up an insurrection of the peasants in La Vendée in order to restore the monarchy and to reestablish the Catholic Church. Provincial and bourgeois dislike of the radicalism of the Parisian proletariat caused riots and outbreaks in such important and widely separated cities as Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux. With the same devotion and thoroughness that had characterized their foreign policy, but with even greater sternness, the officials of the National Convention utilized the new militarism to stamp out domestic riots and insurrections. By 1795 all France, except only the émigrés and secret conspirators, had seemingly accepted the republic.

The explanation of these impressive achievements, whether at home or abroad, lies in the new militarism, and also in the strong central government which the National Convention established and in the policy of terrorism which that government pursued.

In the spring of 1793 the National Convention entrusted the supreme executive authority of France to a special committee,

**The Com-  
mittee of  
Public  
Safety**

composed of nine (later twelve) of its members, who were styled the Committee of Public Safety. This small body, which included such Jacobin leaders as Carnot, Robespierre, and St. Just, acting secretly, directed the ministers of state, appointed the local officials, and undertook the administration of the whole country. Manifold were the duties it was called upon to discharge. Among other problems, it must conduct the foreign relations, supervise the armies, and secure the active support of the French people. Diligently and effectively did it apply itself to its various activities.

Terrorism has been the word usually employed to describe the

internal policy of the Committee of Public Safety, and the "Reign of Terror," the period of the Committee's chief work, from the summer of 1793 to that of 1794. So sensational and so sanguinary was the period that many writers have been prone to describe it as the principal landmark of the Revolution and to picture "liberty, equality, and fraternity" as submerged in a veritable sea of blood. As a matter of fact, however, the Reign of Terror was but an incident, though obviously an awful incident, in a great political and social revolution. It must be remembered that great principles and far-reaching reforms were endangered by a host of foreign and domestic enemies. It seemed to the nationalist republican leaders that the occasion demanded complete unanimity in France and that the only way in which France could present a united front to the world was by striking terror into the hearts of the opponents or critics of the new régime. And terror involved bloodshed.

**The Reign  
of Terror**

The chief agencies of the Committee of Public Safety in conducting terrorism were the Committee of General Security and the Revolutionary Tribunal. The former was given police power in order to maintain order throughout the country. The latter was charged with trying and condemning any person suspected of disloyalty to the republic. Both were responsible to the Committee of Public Safety. A decree of the Convention, called the Law of Suspects, proclaimed as liable to arbitrary arrest every person who was of noble birth, or had held office before the Revolution, or had any relation with an émigré, or could not produce a signed certificate of citizenship.

With such instruments of despotism France became revolutionary by strokes of the guillotine.<sup>1</sup> It is estimated that about 5,000 persons were executed at Paris during the Reign of Terror. Among others Marie Antoinette, Philippe Égalité, and Madame Roland suffered death.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The guillotine, which is still used in France, consists of two upright posts between which a heavy knife rises and falls. The criminal is stretched upon a board and then pushed between the posts. The knife falls and instantly beheads him. The device was invented by a certain philanthropic Dr. Guillotine, who wished to substitute in capital punishment an instrument sure to produce instant death, in place of the bungling process of beheading with an axe.

<sup>2</sup> At the end of this chapter, p. 646, is reproduced a drawing which David, the artist, made of Marie Antoinette at the very time when, after fourteen months' imprisonment, she was passing by, in a cart, on the way to the guillotine. On David, see below, p. 736.

The Terror spread to the provinces. Local tribunals were everywhere established to search out and condemn suspected persons. The city of Lyons, which ventured to resist the revolutionary government, was partially demolished and hundreds of its citizens put to death. At Nantes, where echoes of the Vendée insurrection were long heard, the brutal Jacobin deputy Carrier loaded unhappy victims on old hulks which were towed out into the Loire and sunk. The total number of those who perished in the provinces is unknown, but it probably reached fifteen thousand.

In addition to the arbitrary slaughter of royalists and reactionaries, a sorry feature of the Terror was the wretched quarrelling among various factions of the radicals and the destruction of one for the benefit of another. Thus, the efforts of the Girondists to stay the execution of the king and to appeal to the provinces against the violence in Paris, coupled with the treason of Dumouriez, seemed to the Parisian proletariat to mark the alliance of the Girondists with the reactionaries. Accordingly, the workingmen of Paris, under the leadership of Marat, revolted on 31 May, 1793, and two days later obliged the Convention to expel twenty-nine Girondist members. Of these, the chief, including Brissot and Vergniaud, were brought to the guillotine in October, 1793. Next, the leaders of the Commune of Paris, who had gone to such extreme lengths as to suppress the Christian churches in that city and to proclaim atheism, were despatched in March, 1794, by a coalition of the followers of Danton and Robespierre. Then in April, when Danton at length wearied of the Terror and counselled moderation, that redoubtable genius, together with his friend, Camille Desmoulins, was guillotined. Finally, Robespierre himself, after enjoying a brief dictatorship, during which time he vainly endeavored to establish a Rousseau-like "republic of virtue" was sent, in company with St. Just, to the guillotine by the more conservative members of the National Convention in July, 1794.

The death of Robespierre ended the Reign of Terror. The purpose of the Terror, however, was already achieved. The Revolution was preserved in France, and France was victorious in Europe. The Thermidorian Reaction, as the end of the Terror was called, left the National Convention free to resume its

**Factional  
Terrorism  
among the  
Revolutionaries**

**The  
Downfall  
of Robespierre**

task of devising a permanent republican constitution for the country. A few subsequent attempts were made, now by reactionaries, now by extreme radicals, to interfere with the Convention, but they were suppressed with comparative ease. The last uprising of the Parisian populace which threatened the Convention was effectually quelled (October, 1795) by a "whiff of grape-shot," discharged at the command of a young and obscure captain of artillery, Napoleon Bonaparte by name.

In the midst of foreign war and internal dissension, even in the midst of the Terror, the National Convention found time to make many significant contributions to the fashioning of new institutions and new practices for the modern world. On all occasions, it emphasized the new gospel of nationalism. With the idea of creating a truly nationalist army, it decreed in August, 1793, as we have seen, compulsory military service for all able-bodied young Frenchmen. This decree contained the emotional instructions that "the young men shall go to battle; the married men shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothing, and shall serve in the hospitals; the children shall turn old linen into lint; the aged shall betake themselves to the public places in order to rouse the courage of the warriors and preach hatred of kings and the unity of the Republic." It was a bit rhetorical, but it was the very real beginning of the general large-scale militarism with which Europe has ever since been saddled.

**Achievements of the National Convention**

**The Nation in Arms**

With the idea of establishing a nationalist school-system, the Convention elaborated plans which had been broached by the National Assembly, and it prescribed that the French language should be the sole language of national instruction throughout the "republic, one and indivisible." Likewise the Convention assumed the arduous task of preparing a single comprehensive code of law for the whole country and adopted certain basic social reforms which were to be included in the code. Imprisonment for debt was abolished. Negro slavery in the French colonies was ended. Woman's claim on property was protected in common with man's. Primogeniture was forbidden; that is, property might not be inherited exclusively by an eldest son or be willed to any one heir, but must be dis-

**Projects for National Education and National Law-Code**

**Abolition of Primogeniture**

tributed, almost equally, among all "next of kin." Besides, as a preliminary step toward the reform of commercial law, the Convention established a new and uniform system of weights and measures, the so-called metric system, which not only proved permanent in France but also, on account of its convenience, was subsequently adopted by nearly all civilized nations except the English-speaking peoples.

In matters of religion the National Convention authorized several novel experiments. From the first it attached an essentially religious significance to the principle of nationalism, and at the same time it displayed hostility to traditional Christianity. During the Terror, it not only treated clergymen as suspects but took radical steps to de-Christianize France. It adopted a revolutionary calendar, partly for "scientific" reasons and partly to do away with Sunday observance: the year was divided anew into twelve months, each containing three weeks of ten days ("décades"), every tenth day ("décadi") being for rest, and the five or six days left over at the end of the year, styled "sans-culottides," being national holidays; the names of the months were changed, and the whole calendar was dated from the establishment of the republic, 22 September, 1792. At about the same time, the Convention authorized the transformation of churches into temples of reason; several Catholic bishops and priests formally abjured Christianity; and, under the auspices of the Paris Commune, the atheistic "religion of reason" was formally inaugurated in the cathedral of Notre Dame (November, 1793). Later, under Robespierre's auspices, the deistic cult of the Supreme Being was officially substituted for the atheistic worship of reason (June, 1794). Still later, after the downfall of Robespierre, the Convention took the attitude that religion was a private, rather than a public, concern and that the state should not attempt to establish or maintain an official religion. While renewing earlier enactments against the "non-juring" clergy, the Convention in 1795 guaranteed toleration to all others and restored many of the church buildings to Christian worship.

During the Terror, moreover, and so long as the Jacobins were in control, the National Convention pursued radical social, even socialist, policies in economic matters. The property of the émigrés was confiscated for the benefit of the state and the lower

classes. Persons of wealth, as well as clergymen and persons of noble family, were treated as suspects. Large landed estates were broken up and offered for sale in small parcels and on easy terms. Compensation which had been promised in connection with the earlier abolition of serfdom and feudalism was cancelled. "The rich," said Marat, "have so long sucked out the marrow of the people that they are now visited with a crushing retribution." At the same time, to provide public funds, the Convention authorized forced loans, or, as we would say, "capital levies"; and, to keep down the cost of living, it enacted a series of "laws of the maximum," fixing the price of grain and other commodities and likewise the rates of wages. Then, too, catering to the proletarian clamor for equality, the Convention decreed that everybody, without distinction, should be addressed as "citizen." The official record of the expense of Marie Antoinette's funeral was the simple entry, "Five francs for a coffin for the widow of Citizen Capet." Ornate clothing went out of fashion, at least for men, and the silk stockings and knee breeches (*culottes*) of the old régime were generally supplanted by the plain long trousers which had hitherto been worn only by the lowest class of workingmen (*sans-culottes*).

**Socialist  
Experi-  
ments**

The fall of Robespierre—the so-called Thermidorian Reaction—meant, as we have seen, the end of the Terror. It meant also the decline of the influence of the Parisian proletariat on the National Convention and the resulting ability of the bourgeois members of the Convention to direct the last stage of its activity more and more in accordance with their own economic desires. The law against suspects was repealed, and so were the "laws of the maximum." The Revolutionary Tribunal was suppressed, and the Place de la Révolution was renamed the Place de la Concorde. But while the National Convention thus showed signs of lessening fanaticism and recurring bourgeois spirit, it persevered to the end in its devotion to republicanism and in at least lip service to political democracy. By 1795 France seemed to be definitively committed to a republican form of government. This, however, would not be extremely radical, certainly not socialistic, and instead of being proletarian, it would be essentially bourgeois.

**The Ther-  
midorian  
Reaction:  
Triumph  
of Bour-  
geois  
Policies**

The National Convention had originally been convoked in 1792 to draw up a new constitution for France. It had actually

drawn up such a constitution in 1793,—a Rousseau-like constitution, republican and very democratic and quite Jacobin—but, by reason of the Terror and the exigencies of foreign war, this “Constitution of the Year I” was not put into effect. Then, after the Thermidorian Reaction, when the National Convention was more pronouncedly bourgeois in thought and action, it proceeded to draft still another constitution for the permanent government

**The Republican Constitution of the Year III**

of the French Republic. This constitution, which went into effect in 1795 and is known, therefore, as the “Constitution of the Year III,” entrusted the legislative power to two chambers, chosen by indirect and somewhat restricted election: a lower house of 500

members, to propose laws; and a Council of Ancients, of 250 members, to examine and enact the laws. The executive authority was vested in a committee of five Directors—the Directory—who were to be elected by the legislature and who should appoint the ministers of state, or cabinet, and supervise the enforcement of the laws.

**The Directory**

## 5. TRANSFORMATION OF THE REPUBLIC INTO A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

The French Republic, proclaimed in 1792 and provided with a “permanent” constitution in 1795, survived in name until 1804. But its actual duration was even briefer, and its government by the Directory lasted less than four years (1795–1799).

The failure of the Directory was due to two chief causes: first, the lack of efficient government; and second, the rise of militarism and the prestige of a victorious, ambitious general. To both of these causes, reference must be made. The former indicated that a stronger government was needed; the latter suggested what the nature of the stronger government would be.

To consolidate the French people after six years of radical revolutionary upheavals required hard and honest labor on the part of men of distinct genius. Yet the Directors were, almost without exception, men of mediocre talents,<sup>1</sup> who practiced bribery and corruption with unblushing effrontery. They preferred personal gain to the welfare of the state.

<sup>1</sup> Carnot, the only member of first-rate ability, was forced out of the Directory in 1797.

The period of the Directory was a time of plots and intrigues. The royalists and reactionaries who were elected in considerable numbers to the legislature were restrained from subverting the constitution only by illegal force and violence on the part of the Directors. On the other hand, the extremists in Paris found a warm-hearted leader in a certain Babeuf (1760-1797), who declared that the Revolution had been directed primarily to the advantage of the bourgeoisie, that the proletarians, despite their toil and suffering and bloodshed, were still just as poorly off as ever, and that their only salvation lay in a compulsory equalization of wealth and the abolition of poverty. An insurrection of these socialist radicals was suppressed, and Babeuf was executed in 1797.

**Factional  
Intrigues  
under the  
Directory**

While sincere radicals and convinced reactionaries were uniting in common opposition to the unhappy Directory, the finances of the state were becoming more and more hopelessly involved. "Graft" flourished unbridled in the levying and collecting of the taxes and in all public expenditures. To the extravagance of the Directors in internal administration were added the financial necessities of armies aggregating a million men. Paris, still in poverty and want, had to be fed at the expense of the nation. And the issue of *assignats* by the National Constituent Assembly, intended at first only as a temporary expedient, had been continued until by the year 1796 the total face value of the *assignats* amounted to about forty billion livres, and three hundred livres in assignats were required to secure one livre in cash. In 1797 a partial bankruptcy was declared, interest payments were suspended on two thirds of the public debt, and the *assignats* were repudiated. The republic faced much the same financial crisis as had confronted the absolute monarchy in 1789.

**Financial  
Difficulties  
under the  
Directory**

From but one direction did light stream in upon the Directory; the national army was functioning splendidly and the foreign war was going gloriously. When the Directory assumed office, France was still at war with Austria, Sardinia, and Great Britain. The general plan of campaign was to advance one French army across the Rhine, through southern Germany, and thence into the Austrian dominions, and to despatch another army across the Alps, through northern Italy, and thence on to Vienna. Of the

**Continuing  
Success in  
Foreign  
War**



army of the Rhine such veteran generals as Pichegru, Jourdan, and Moreau were put in charge. To the command of the army operating in Italy, the youthful Bonaparte was appointed.

Napoleon Bonaparte hitherto had not been particularly conspicuous in politics or in war. He was believed to be in full sympathy with the Revolution, although he had taken pains after the downfall of Robespierre to disavow any attachment to the extreme radicals. He had acquired some popularity by his skillful expulsion of the British from Toulon in 1793, and his protection of the National Convention against the uprising of the Parisian populace in 1795 gave him reputation as a friend of law and order. Finally, his marriage in 1796 with Josephine Beauharnais, the widow of a revolutionary general and the mistress of one of the Directors, bettered his chances of indulging his fondness for politics and war.

That very year (1796), while the older and more experienced French generals were repeatedly baffled in their efforts to carry the war into southern Germany, the young commander—but twenty-seven years of age—swept the Austrians from Italy. With lightning rapidity, with infectious enthusiasm, with brilliant tactics, with great personal bravery, he crossed the Alps, humbled the Sardinians, and within a year had disposed of five Austrian armies and had occupied every fort in northern Italy. Sardinia was compelled to cede Savoy and Nice to the French Republic, and, when Bonaparte's army approached Vienna, Austria stooped to make terms with this amazing republican general. By the treaty of Campo Formio (1797), France secured the Austrian Netherlands and the Ionian Islands; Austria obtained, as partial compensation for her sacrifices, the ancient Venetian Republic, but agreed not to interfere in other parts of Italy; and a congress was to assemble at Rastatt to rearrange the map of the Holy Roman Empire with a view to compensating those German princes whose lands on the left bank of the Rhine had been appropriated by France.

The campaign of 1796-1797, known in history as the first Italian campaign, was the beginning of a long series of sensational military exploits which were to rank Napoleon Bonaparte as the foremost soldier of modern times. Its immediate effect was to complete the disso-

**Emer-  
gence of  
Napoleon  
Bonaparte**

**Bona-  
parte's  
First  
Italian  
Campaign**

**Treaty of  
Campo  
Formio**

**Dissolu-  
tion of the  
First Coa-  
lition**

lution of the First Coalition by forcing Austria and Sardinia to follow the example of Spain, Prussia, and Holland and to make a peace highly favorable to the French Republic. Great Britain alone continued the struggle against the Directory.

Another effect of the first Italian campaign, almost as immediate and certainly more portentous, was the sudden personal fame of Napoleon Bonaparte. He was the most talked-of man in France. The people applauded him. The government feared but flattered him. Schemers and plotters of every political faith sought his support. Alongside of decreasing respect for the existing government was increasing trust in Bonaparte's strength and ability.

It was undoubtedly with a sense of relief that the despised Directors in 1798 assented to a project proposed by the popular hero to transport to Egypt a French expedition with the object of interrupting communications between Great Britain and India. The ensuing Egyptian campaign of 1798 was spectacular rather than successful. Bonaparte made stirring speeches to his soldiers. He called the Pyramids to witness the valor of the French. He harangued the native Moslems upon the beautiful and truthful character of their religion and upon the advantages which they would derive from free trade with France. He encouraged the close study of Egyptian antiquities.<sup>1</sup> But his actual military achievements did not measure up to the excessively colored reports which he sent home. He was checked in Syria, and a great naval victory won by the celebrated English admiral, Lord Nelson, near the mouth of the Nile, left Bonaparte's army cut off and isolated in Egypt.

Bonaparte  
in Egypt

General Bonaparte himself luckily eluded the British warships and returned to France. It was believed by Frenchmen that his latest expedition had been eminently successful; but that in the meantime the work of the Directory had been disastrous, no one doubted. While Bonaparte was away, affairs in France had gone from bad to worse. There were new plots, increased financial and social disorders, and finally the renewal on a large scale of foreign war.

After the treaty of Campo Formio, the Directors had prosecuted zealously the policy of surrounding France with a circle

<sup>1</sup> It was an army officer on this expedition who discovered the famous Rosetta Stone, by the aid of which ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics could be deciphered.

of dependent republics. Even before that treaty, Holland had been transformed into the Batavian Republic, and now pretexts of various sorts were utilized to convert the duchy of Milan, or Lombardy, into the Cisalpine Republic; the oligarchy of Genoa into the Ligurian Republic; the papal states into the Roman Republic; the kingdom of the Two Sicilies into the Parthenopæan Republic; the Swiss Confederation into the Helvetic Republic. At the same time (1798), the Directory further strengthened the French army by systematizing and extending conscription.

**Creation of  
Republics  
Dependent  
on France**

In view of the fact that the governments of all the neighboring republics were modelled after that of France and were allied with France, the monarchs of Europe bestirred themselves once more to get rid of the danger that threatened them. A Second Coalition was formed by Great Britain, Austria, and Russia, and, thanks to liberal sums of money supplied by William Pitt, the British minister, they were able to put larger armies in the field.

**Formation  
of the  
Second  
Coalition  
against  
France**

During 1799 the Second Coalition won repeated victories; the French were driven from Italy; and most of the dependent republics collapsed. It seemed as though Bonaparte's first Italian campaign had been for naught. Possibly the military hero of France had himself foreseen this very situation and had intended to exploit it to his own advantage.

At any rate, when Bonaparte had sailed for Egypt, he had left his country apparently victorious and honored. Now, when he landed at Fréjus in October, 1799, he found France defeated and disgraced. It is small wonder that his journey from Fréjus to Paris was a triumphal procession. The majority of Frenchmen were convinced that he was the man of the hour.

Within a month of his return from Egypt, public opinion enabled the young general to overthrow the government of the Directory. Skillfully intriguing with the Abbé Sieyès, who was one of the Directors, he surrounded the Assemblies with a cordon of troops loyal to himself and on 18-19 Brumaire (9-10 November, 1799) secured by show of force the downfall of the government and the appointment of himself to supreme military command. This blow at the state (*coup d'état*) was soon followed by the promulgation of a new constitution, by which General

**Bona-  
parte's  
Coup  
d'État: the  
Overthrow  
of the  
Directory**

Bonaparte became First Consul of the French Republic. Thus, within the space of ten and a half years from the assembling of the Estates General at Versailles, parliamentary and popular government in France fell beneath the sword. The predictions of Marat and Robespierre were realized. A military dictator had appeared on the scene.

Yet the advent of Napoleon Bonaparte, the military dictator, did not obscure the deep significance of the French Revolution. A present-day visitor in Paris may still observe on all sides the words *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. These were the words which the revolutionaries spelled out on their public buildings, and which they thought embodied the basic meaning of the Revolution. These words Napoleon Bonaparte did not erase or change. They were applauded by him, as they were detested and denounced by his foes.

**Perma-  
nence of  
French  
Revolu-  
tionary  
Principles**

As to the meaning of these words, there were certainly quite contradictory views. To the royalists and rigid Catholics—to the privileged nobility and clergy—to many an ignorant peasant—to all the reactionaries, they meant everything that was hateful, blasphemous, sordid, inhuman, and unpatriotic. To the “enlightened” altruistic bourgeois—to the desperate workingman of the city—to many a dreamer and philanthropist—to all the extreme radicals, they were but a shadowy will-o’-the-wisp that glimmered briefly and perhaps indicated faintly the gorgeousness of the great day which might later break upon them. Between these extremes of reaction and radicalism fell the bulk of the bourgeoisie and of the peasantry—the bulk of the French nation—and it is their understanding of the three symbolical words which we shall try to make clear.

“Liberty” implied certain political ideals. Government should henceforth be exercised not autocratically by divine right, but constitutionally by the sovereign will of the governed. The individual citizen should no longer be subject to the arbitrary rule of a king, but should be guaranteed in possession of personal liberties which no state or society might abridge. Such were liberty of conscience, liberty of worship, liberty of speech, liberty of publication. The liberty of owning private property was proclaimed by the French Revolution to be an inherent right of man.

**The  
Principle  
of Liberty**

“Equality” embraced the social activities of the Revolution. It signified the abolition of privilege, the end of serfdom, the destruction of the feudal system. It meant that all men were equal before the law. It involved the aspiration of affording every man an equal chance with every other man in the pursuit of life and happiness.

**The  
Principle  
of Equality**

“Fraternity” was the symbol of the idealistic brotherhood of those who sought to make the world better and happier and more just, and at the same time it was the watchword of the new French nationalism. For the sake of humanity, the French nation should be exalted; schools, armies, even religion should be nationalized. No longer should mercenaries fight at the behest of despots for dynastic aggrandizement; henceforth a nation in arms should be prepared to do battle under the glorious banner of “fraternity” in defense of whatever it believed to be the nation’s interests.

**The Prin-  
ciple of  
Fraternity**

Political liberty, social equality, nationalist patriotism—these three remained the ideals of all those who down to our own day have looked for inspiration to the French Revolution.



## CHAPTER XIII

### THE ERA OF NAPOLEON



OKED with the history of Europe from 1799 to 1814 was the history of France, and the history of France with the biography of Napoleon Bonaparte. So true is this that the phrase "the era of Napoleon" has been generally employed to describe the history of those years. The period certainly stands out as one of the most significant in modern times. Apart from its importance as marking a revolution in the art of war, it bore memorable results in two directions: (1) the adaptation of revolutionary theories to French practical political necessities, and the establishment of many of the enduring institutions of France; and (2) the communication of doctrines and ideals of the French Revolution far and wide throughout Europe, so that henceforth the revolutionary movement was general rather than local.

During the first five years of the era (1799-1804) France remained formally a republic. It was in these years that General Bonaparte, as First Consul, consolidated his country and preserved certain fruits of the Revolution. Thereafter, from 1804 to 1814, France was an empire, erected and maintained by military force. Then it was that the national hero—self-crowned Napoleon I, emperor of the French,—by means of war, conquest, annexation, or alliance, took up again the spread of revolutionary principles throughout Europe. Before we review the main activities of the constructive consulate or of the proselyting empire, we should have some notion of the character of the leading actor.

#### I. BONAPARTE'S HERITAGE FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

When General Bonaparte executed the *coup d'état* of 1799 and seized personal power in France, he was thirty years of age, short, of medium build, quiet and determined, with cold gray

eyes and rather awkward manners. He had been born at Ajaccio in Corsica on 15 August, 1769, just after the island had been purchased by France from Genoa<sup>1</sup> but before the French had fully succeeded in quelling a stubborn insurrection of the Corsicans. Belonging to a prominent and numerous Italian family,—at the outset his name was written Napoleone di Buonaparte,—he had been selected along with sons of other conspicuous Corsican families to be educated at public expense in France. In this way he received a good military education at Brienne and at Paris. He early displayed a marked fondness for the study of mathematics and history as well as for the science of war; and, though reserved and taciturn, he was noticeably ambitious and a keen judge of men.

During his youth Buonaparte dreamed of becoming the leader of the movement for Corsican independence, but the outbreak of the French Revolution afforded him a wider field for his enthusiasm and ambition. Already an engineer and artilleryman, he threw in his lot with the Jacobins, sympathized at least outwardly with the course of the Revolution, and was rewarded, as we have seen,<sup>2</sup> with an important place in the recapture of Toulon (1793) and in the defense of the Convention (1795). It was not, however, until his first Italian campaign,—when incidentally he altered his name to the French form, Bonaparte,—that he acquired a commanding reputation as the foremost general of the French Republic.

How Bonaparte utilized his reputation in order to make himself master of his adopted country has already been related. His success was due in large part to an extraordinary opportunity which French politics at that time offered. But it was due, likewise, to certain characteristic qualities of the young general. In the first place, he was thoroughly convinced of his own abilities. Ambitious, selfish, and egotistical, he was always thinking and planning how he might become world-famous. Fatalistic and even superstitious, he believed that an unseen power was leading him on to higher and grander honors. He convinced his associates that he was a "man of destiny." Then, in the second place, Bonaparte possessed an effective means of satisfying his ambition. He was heir to the militarism of the French Revolution, and he made himself the idol of his conscript

**The Early  
Career of  
Napoleon  
Bonaparte**

**Bona-  
parte's  
Character**

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 317, note.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 637, 642.

soldiers. "He would go to sleep repeating the names of the corps, and even those of some of the individuals who composed them; he kept these names in a corner of his memory, and this habit came to his aid when he wanted to recognize a soldier and to give him a cheering word from his general. He spoke to the subalterns in a tone of good fellowship, which delighted them all, as he reminded them of their common feats of arms."

Then, in the third place, Bonaparte was a keen observer and a clever critic. Being sagacious, he knew that by 1799 the French people at large were weary of weak government and perpetual political strife and that they longed to have an orderly government headed by a practical man. Such a man he instinctively felt himself to be. In the fourth place, Bonaparte was unscrupulous. Knowing what he desired, he was ready and willing to employ any means to attain his ends. No love for theories or principles, no fear of God or man, no sentimental aversion from bloodshed, nothing could deter him from striving to realize his vaulting but self-centred ambition. Finally, there was in his nature a vein of poetry and art which made him human and often served him well. He dreamed of the forms of empire and the ceremonies of triumph. He revelled in the thought of courts and polished society. He entertained a sincere admiration for learning. His highly colored speeches to his soldiers were at once brilliant and inspiring. His fine instinct of the dramatic gave a sensational setting to all his public acts. And in the difficult arts of lying and deception, Bonaparte could hardly be surpassed.

Such was the man who effected the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire (November, 1799). His first work in his new rôle was to devise an instrument of government to take the place of the Constitution of the Year III. It concealed his military despotism under a veil of popular forms. The document named three "consuls," the first of whom was Bonaparte himself, who were to appoint a Senate. From lists selected by general election, the Senate was to designate a Tribune and a Legislative Body. The First Consul, in addition to conducting the administration and foreign policies and having charge of the army, was to propose, through a Council of State, all the laws. The Tribune was to discuss the laws without voting on them. The Legislative Body was then to vote on the laws without discussing them. And the Senate, acting as a kind

**Bona-  
parte's  
Republican  
Constitu-  
tion of the  
Year VIII:  
the Con-  
sulate**



of supreme court, was to decide all constitutional questions. Thus a written constitution was provided, and the democratic principle of popular sovereignty was recognized, but in last analysis the authority of the state was centred in the First Consul, who was Napoleon Bonaparte.

The document was forthwith submitted to popular vote (*plébiscite*), for ratification or rejection. So general was the disgust with the Directory and so unbounded was the faith of all classes in the military hero who offered it, that it was ratified by an overwhelming majority and was henceforth known in French history as the Constitution of the Year VIII.

One reason why the French nation so readily acquiesced in an obvious act of usurpation was the grave foreign danger which still threatened the country. As we have noted in another connection,<sup>1</sup> the armies of the Second Coalition in the course of 1799 had rapidly undone the settlement of Campo Formio, and, possessing themselves of Italy and the Rhine valley, were on the point of carrying the war into France. The first Consul perceived at a glance that he must face essentially the same situation as that which confronted France in 1796.

The Second Coalition embraced Great Britain, Austria, and Russia. Bonaparte soon succeeded by flattery and diplomacy not only in securing the withdrawal of Russia but in actuating the half-insane Tsar Paul<sup>2</sup> to revive against Great Britain an armed neutrality of the North, which included Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark. Meanwhile the First Consul prepared a second Italian campaign against Austria. Suddenly leading a French army through the rough and icy passes of the Alps, he descended into the fertile valley of the Po and at Marengo in June, 1800, inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon the enemy.

This success in Italy was supplemented a few months later by a brilliant victory of another French army, under Moreau, at Hohenlinden in southern Germany.

Whereupon Austria again sued for peace, and the resulting treaty of Lunéville (1801) reaffirmed and strengthened the provisions of the peace of Campo Formio.

Meanwhile, steps were being taken to terminate the state of

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 644.

<sup>2</sup> Paul, the son of Catherine the Great, reigned from 1796 to 1801.

**Bona-  
parte's  
War  
against the  
Second  
Coalition**

**Treaty of  
Lunéville  
with  
Austria**

war which had been existing between France and Great Britain since 1793. Although French arms were victorious in Europe, the British squadron of Lord Nelson (1758-1805) had managed to retain the mastery of the sea. By gaining the battle of the Nile (1 August, 1798) Nelson had cut off the supplies of the French expedition in Egypt and eventually (1801) obliged it to surrender. Now, by a furious bombardment of Copenhagen (2 April, 1801), Nelson broke up the armed neutrality of the North. But despite the naval feats of the British, republican France seemed to be unconquerable on the Continent. Under these circumstances a treaty was signed at Amiens in March, 1802, whereby Great Britain promised to restore all the colonial conquests made during the war, except Ceylon and Trinidad, and tacitly accepted the Continental settlement as defined at Lunéville. The treaty of Amiens was intended to be permanent, but it proved to be only a temporary truce in a long struggle between France and Great Britain.

**Treaty of  
Amiens  
with Great  
Britain**

So far, the Consulate had meant the establishment of an advantageous peace for France. With all foreign foes subdued, with territories extended to the Rhine, and with allies in Spain, and in the Batavian, Helvetic, Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics, the First Consul was free to devote his marvellous organizing and administrative talents to the internal affairs of his country. The period of the Consulate (1799-1804) was the period of Bonaparte's greatest and most enduring contributions to the development of French institutions.

**The French  
Republic  
Expanded  
and at  
Peace**

Throughout his career Bonaparte professed himself to be the "son of the Revolution," the champion of the novel ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. It was to the Revolution that he owed his position in France, and it was to France that he claimed to be preserving the fruits of the Revolution. Yet, in actual practice, the First Consul trimmed the Revolution by emphasizing equality rather than liberty and by interpreting fraternity in a nationalist, rather than internationalist, sense. "What the French people want," he declared, "is equality, not liberty." In the social order, therefore, Bonaparte rigidly maintained the abolition of privilege. He would recognize no distinctions of class, and the one order of knighthood which he founded and fostered—

**Bona-  
parte's  
Preserva-  
tion of the  
Revolutionary  
Heritage**

the Legion of Honor—was to be open to any citizen who performed meritorious service, regardless of birth, rank, or religion. Bonaparte would not think of reviving serfdom or feudalism in any respect, and he ever sought to assure to all Frenchmen equal justice, equal rights, equal opportunity of advancement. But in the political order he exercised a tyranny more complete, if less open, than that of Louis XIV.

The Constitution of the Year VIII (1799) placed in Bonaparte's hands all the legislative and executive functions of the central government, and a series of subsequent acts put the law courts under his control. In 1800 the local government of the whole country was subordinated to him. The extensive

**Centrali-  
zation of  
Local Gov-  
ernment:  
the Pre-  
fects**

powers vested by the Constituent Assembly in elective bodies of the départements and smaller districts (arrondissements) were wielded by prefects and sub-prefects, appointed by the First Consul and responsible to him.

The local elective councils continued to exist, but sat only for a fortnight in the year and had to deal merely with the assessment of taxes; they might be consulted by the prefect or sub-prefect but had no serious check upon the executive. The mayor of every small commune was chosen by the prefect, while the police of all cities containing more than 100,000 inhabitants were directed by the central government, and the mayors of towns of more than 5,000 population were chosen by Bonaparte.

This highly centralized administration of the country afforded the people little direct voice in governmental matters but it possessed distinct advantages in assuring the prompt, uniform, unquestioning execution of the laws and decrees of the central government. In essence it was a revival and perfecting of the system of intendants instituted by Cardinal Richelieu and utilized by Louis XIV.<sup>1</sup> How conservative are the French people, at least in the institutions of local government, may be inferred from the fact that, despite many changes in France during the nineteenth century from republic to monarchy to republic again, Bonaparte's system of prefects and sub-prefects has survived to the present day.

As in administration, so in all his internal reforms, Bonaparte displayed the same fondness for nationalist centralization, with consequent thoroughness and efficiency, at the expense of polit-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 284.

ical liberty. His reforms of every description—financial, ecclesiastical, judicial, educational,—and even his public works, showed the guiding hand of the victorious general rather than that of the convinced revolutionary. They were the adaptation of the revolutionary heritage to the purposes and policies of nationalism and one-man power.

It will be remembered that financial disorders had been the immediate cause of the downfall both of the absolute monarchy in 1789 and of the Directory in 1799. From the outset, Bonaparte guarded against any such recurrence. By careful collection of taxes he increased the revenue of the state. By rigid economy, by the severe punishment of corrupt officials, and by the practice of obliging people whose lands he invaded to support his armies, he checked the public expenditures. The crowning achievement of his financial readjustments was the establishment (1800) of the Bank of France, which has been ever since one of the soundest financial institutions in the world.

**Financial Reform:  
the Bank of France**

Another grave problem which Bonaparte inherited from the Revolution was the quarrel between the state and the Catholic Church. He was determined to gain the political support of the large number of conscientious French Catholics who had been alienated by the harsh anti-clerical measures of the revolutionaries. After delicate and protracted negotiations and against the wishes of French radicals, a settlement was reached in a concordat (1801) between Pope Pius VII and the French Republic, whereby the pope, for his part, concurred in the confiscation of the property of the church and the suppression of the monasteries, and the republic undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy. The First Consul was to nominate the bishops, and the pope was to invest them with their office; the priests were to be appointed by the bishops. In this way the Catholic Church was officially restored in France, but it was tied to the national government more tightly than it had been in the time of Louis XIV.<sup>1</sup> So advantageous did the arrangement appear that

**Reestablishment of the Catholic Church: the Concordat of 1801**

<sup>1</sup> Catholicism was recognized by the concordat of 1801 as "the religion of the majority of Frenchmen," but its pre-revolutionary legal monopoly was not restored. Frenchmen might conform with it, or not, as they personally desired. And Bonaparte followed up his toleration and subsidizing of Catholicism by according similar favors to Protestant churches and Jewish synagogues within France.

the concordat of 1801 continued to regulate the relations of church and state in France until 1905.

One of the fondest hopes cherished by the French Revolutionaries was to clear away the confusion and discrepancies of the numerous legal systems of the old régime and to reduce the laws of the land to a simple and uniform national code, so that every person who could read would be able to know what was legal and what was illegal. The constitution of 1791 had promised such a work; the National Convention had actually begun it; but the preoccupations of the leading revolutionaries, combined with the natural caution and slowness of the lawyers to whom the task was entrusted, delayed its completion. It was not until the commanding personality of Bonaparte came into contact with it that real progress was made. Then surrounding himself with excellent legal advisers <sup>1</sup> whom he literally drove to labor, the First Consul brought out a great civil code (1804), which was followed by a code of civil procedure, a code of criminal procedure, a penal code, and a commercial code. These codes were of the utmost importance. The simplicity and elegance of their form commended them not only to France, but to the greater part of Continental Europe. More important, they preserved the chief social conquests of the Revolution, such as civil equality, religious toleration, equality of inheritance, emancipation of serfs, abolition of feudalism and privilege. It is true that many harsh punishments were retained and that the position of woman was made distinctly inferior to that of man, but, on the whole, the French codes long remained not only the most convenient but the most enlightened set of laws in the world. Bonaparte was rightly hailed as a second Justinian.

A similar motive and the same enthusiasm actuated the First Consul in pressing forward a nationalist scheme of education. On the foundation laid several years earlier by the revolutionaries <sup>2</sup> was now reared an imposing state system of public instruction. (1) Primary or elementary schools were to be maintained by every commune under the general supervision of the prefects or sub-prefects. (2) Secondary or grammar schools were to provide special training in French, Latin, and elementary science, and, whether supported

<sup>1</sup> Chief among these legal experts was Cambacérès (1753-1824), the Second Consul.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 637.

**Legal Re-  
form and  
Consolida-  
tion: the  
Code  
Napoléon**

**Educa-  
tional Re-  
form: the  
System of  
National  
Schools**

by public or private enterprise, were to be subject to control by the national government. (3) *Lycées*, or high schools, were to be opened in every important town and instruction given in the higher branches of learning by teachers appointed by the state. (4) Special schools, such as technical schools, civil service schools, and military schools, were brought under public regulation. (5) The university of France was established to maintain uniformity throughout the new educational system. Its chief officials were appointed by the First Consul, and no one might open a new school or teach in public unless he was licensed by the university. (6) The recruiting station for the teaching staff of the public schools was provided in a normal school organized in Paris. All these schools were directed to take as the bases of their teaching the ethical principles of Christianity, loyalty to the head of the state, and obedience to the statutes of the university. Despite continued efforts of Bonaparte, the new system was handicapped by lack of funds and of experienced lay teachers, so that at the close of the Napoleonic era, more than half of the total number of French children still attended private schools, mostly those conducted by the Catholic Church. But in private schools, as in public schools, national patriotism was now inculcated.

Bonaparte proved himself a zealous benefactor of public works and improvements. With very moderate expenditure of French funds, for prisoners of war were obliged to do a good deal of the work, he enormously improved the means of communication and trade within the country, and promoted the economic welfare of large classes of the inhabitants. The splendid highways which modern France possesses are in large part due to Bonaparte. In 1811 he could enumerate 229 broad military roads which he had constructed, the most important of which, thirty in number, radiated from Paris to the extremities of the French territory. Two fine Alpine roads brought Paris in touch with Turin, Milan, Rome, and Naples. Numerous substantial bridges were built. The former network of canals and waterways was perfected. Marshes were drained, dikes strengthened, and sand dunes hindered from spreading along the ocean coast. The principal seaports, both naval and commercial, were enlarged and fortified, especially the harbors of Cherbourg and Toulon.

Public  
Works

Along with such obviously useful labor went desirable embellishment of life.<sup>1</sup> State palaces were restored and enlarged, so that, under Bonaparte, St. Cloud, Fontainebleau, and Rambouillet came to rank with the majesty of Versailles.

**Patronage  
of Art**

The city of Paris was beautified. Broad avenues were projected. The Louvre was completed and adorned with precious works of art which Bonaparte dragged as fruits of victory from Italy, or Spain, or the Netherlands. During the Consulate, Paris was just beginning to lay claim to a position as the pleasure city of Europe. Its population almost doubled during the era of Napoleon.

The First Consul also entertained the hope of restoring the French colonial empire. In 1800 he prevailed upon the Spanish government to re-cede to France the extensive territory—called Louisiana—lying west of the Mississippi River.<sup>2</sup> Soon afterwards he despatched his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, with an army of 25,000 men, to make good the French claims to the large island of Haiti. But the colonial ventures of Napoleon ended in failure. In Haiti, Leclerc's efforts to reëstablish negro slavery encountered the stubborn resistance of the blacks, organized and led by one of their number, Toussaint L'Ouverture, a man of considerable military genius. After a determined and often ferocious struggle Leclerc proposed a compromise, and Toussaint, induced by the most solemn guaranties on the part of the French, laid down his arms. He was seized and sent to France, where he died in prison in 1803. The negroes, infuriated by this act of treachery, renewed the war with terrible barbarity. The French, further embarrassed by the appearance of a British fleet, were only too glad to relinquish the island in November, 1803. Meanwhile, expectation of war with Great Britain had induced Bonaparte in April, 1803, to sell the entire Louisiana territory to the United States.

If we except these brief and ill-starred colonial exploits, we may pronounce the First Consul's government and achievements eminently successful. Bonaparte had inspired public confidence by the honesty of his financial administration and by his choice of officials, for he was served by such a consummate diplomat as Talleyrand and by such a tireless chief of police as Fouché. His speedy and victorious termination of the War of the Second

**Bona-  
parte's  
Attempts  
to Build a  
French  
Colonial  
Empire**

<sup>1</sup> On art in the Napoleonic era, see below, pp. 735-736.    <sup>2</sup> See above, p. 412.

Coalition and his subsequent apparent policy of peace had rebounded to his credit. His sweeping and thorough reforms in internal affairs had attracted to his support many and varied classes in the community—the business interests, the bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and many sincere Catholics.

Only two groups—and these continually dwindling in size and importance—stood in the way of Bonaparte's complete mastery of France. One was the remnant of the Jacobins who would not admit that the Revolution was ended. The other was the royalist party which longed to undo all the work of the Revolution. During the Consulate, however, the efforts of both these factions were reduced to secret plots and intrigues. Attempts to assassinate the First Consul served only to increase his popularity among the masses. Early in 1804 Bonaparte unearthed a conspiracy of royalists, whom he punished with summary vengeance. General Pichegru, who was implicated in the conspiracy, was found strangled in prison soon after his arrest. Moreau, who was undoubtedly the ablest general in France next to Bonaparte, was likewise accused of complicity, although he was a staunch Jacobin, and escaped more drastic punishment only by becoming an exile in America. Not content with these advantages, Bonaparte determined thoroughly to terrorize the royalists. By military force he seized a young Bourbon prince, the duc d'Enghien, on German soil, and without a particle of proof against him put him to death.

In 1802 a plébiscite had bestowed the Consulate on Bonaparte for life. Now there was little more to do than to make the office hereditary and to change its name. This alteration was proposed in 1804 by the subservient Senate and promptly ratified by an overwhelming popular vote. On 2 December, 1804, amid imposing ceremonies in the medieval cathedral of Notre Dame, in the presence of Pope Pius VII, who had come all the way from Rome to grace the event, General Bonaparte placed a crown upon his own head and assumed the title of Napoleon I, emperor of the French.

Suppression of Domestic Dissent

Transformation of the Republic into the Empire

Coronation of Napoleon

## 2. THE FRENCH EMPIRE AND ITS TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

The establishment of the empire was by no means a break in French history. The principle of popular sovereignty was still



recognized. The social gains of the Revolution were still intact. The magic words "liberty, equality, fraternity" still blazed proudly forth on public buildings. The tricolor was still the flag of France.

Of course a few changes were made in externals. The title of "citizen" was again replaced by that of "monsieur." The republican calendar gradually lapsed. Napoleon's relatives became "grand dignitaries." The revolutionary generals who accepted the new régime were promoted to be "marshals of the empire." Old titles of nobility were restored, and new ones created.

The outward changes in France were reflected in the dependent surrounding states. And in effecting the foreign alterations, Napoleon took care to provide for his numerous family. For his brother Louis, the Batavian Republic was transformed into the kingdom of Holland. For his brother Jerome, estates were subsequently carved out of Hanover, Prussia, and other northwest German lands to form the kingdom of Westphalia. Brother Joseph was seated on the Bourbon throne of the Two Sicilies. The Cisalpine Republic became the kingdom of Italy with Napoleon as king, and Eugene Beauharnais, his stepson, as viceroy.<sup>1</sup> Both Piedmont and Genoa were incorporated into the French empire.

The Consulate, as has been explained, was characterized by a policy of peace. Sweeping reforms had been accomplished in internal affairs, so that France was consolidated and the vast majority of her citizens became devoted supporters of the emperor. What adverse criticism Frenchmen might have directed against the empire was stifled by the activity of a splendidly organized secret police and by a rigorous censorship of the press. So complete was Napoleon's control of the state that the sensational naval defeat of Trafalgar was not mentioned by a single French newspaper until after the fall of the empire. By degrees the personal power of the Corsican adventurer, though based in theory on the principle of popular sovereignty, became in fact more absolute than that of any divine-right monarchy. Indeed, Napoleon went so far as to adapt an old catechism which the celebrated Bishop Bossuet had prepared during the reign of Louis XIV and to order its

<sup>1</sup> For the relatives of Napoleon, see the chart below, p. 664.

use by all children. An extract from the catechism will make clear how Napoleon wished to be regarded.

*“Question.* What are the duties of Christians toward those who govern them, and what in particular are our duties towards Napoleon I, our Emperor?

*“Answer.* Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we in particular owe to Napoleon I, our emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the taxes levied for the preservation and defence of the empire and of his throne. We also owe him fervent prayers for his safety and for the spiritual and temporal prosperity of the state.

With opposition crushed in France, with the loyalty of the French nation secured, and with an enthusiastic nationalist army at his beck and call, Napoleon as emperor could gratify his natural instincts for foreign aggrandizement and glory. He had become all-powerful in France; he would become all-powerful in Europe. Ambitious and successful in the arts of peace, he would be more ambitious and more successful in the science of war. The empire indeed meant war more clearly than the consulate had appeared to mean peace. To speculate upon what Napoleon might have accomplished for France had he restrained his ambition and continued to apply his talents entirely to the less striking triumphs of peace, is idle, because Napoleon was not that type of man.

**The  
Emperor's  
Military  
Ambition**

The ten years of the empire (1804-1814) were attended by continuous warfare. Into the intricacies of the military campaigns it is neither possible nor expedient in the compass of this chapter to enter. It is aimed, rather, to present only such features of the long struggle as are significant in the general history of Europe, for the wars of Napoleon served a purpose which their prime mover only incidentally had at heart—the transmission of the revolutionary heritage to Europe.

When the empire was established, war between France and Great Britain, interrupted by the treaty of Amiens, had already broken forth afresh. The struggle had begun in 1793 as a protest of the British monarchy against the excesses of the Revolution, especially against the French conquest of Belgium, and doubtless the masses of the English nation still fancied that they were fighting against the demon of revolution, now personified by Napoleon Bonaparte.

**Renewal  
of War  
with Great  
Britain**

But to the statesmen and influential classes of Great Britain as well as of France, the conflict had assumed a deeper significance. It was an economic and commercial war. The British not only were mindful of the assistance which France had given to American rebels, but also were resolved that France should not regain the colonial empire and commercial position which she had lost in the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The British had struggled to maintain their control of the sea and the superiority of trade and industry which attended it. Now, when Napoleon extended French influence over the Belgian and Dutch Netherlands, along the Rhine, and throughout Italy, and even succeeded in negotiating an alliance with Spain, Britain was threatened with the loss of valuable commercial privileges in all those regions, and was further alarmed by the ambitious colonial projects of Napoleon. In May, 1803, therefore, Great Britain declared war. The immediate occasion for the resumption of hostilities was Napoleon's positive refusal to cease interfering in Italy, in Switzerland, and in Holland.

Napoleon welcomed the renewal of war. He understood that until he had completely broken the power of Great Britain all his Continental designs were imperilled and his colonial and commercial projects hopeless. The humiliation of the great rival across the Channel would be the surest guaranty of the prosperity of the French bourgeoisie, and it was in last analysis from this class that his own political support was chiefly derived. The year 1803-1804 was spent by the emperor in elaborate preparations for an armed invasion of England. Along the Channel coast were gradually collected at enormous cost a host of transports and frigates, a considerable army, and an abundance of supplies. To the French armament, Spain was induced to contribute her resources.

Great Britain replied to these preparations by covering the Channel with a superior fleet, by preying upon French commerce, and by seizing Spanish treasure-ships from America. And William Pitt, the very embodiment of the Englishman's dislike for things French, headed the ministry of his country. Great Britain had no large armies to put in the field against the veterans of Napoleon, but Pitt spent liberal sums of British money in order to enable the Continental powers to combat the French emperor. Pitt was the

**The Third  
Coalition  
against  
France**

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 411-413.

real bone and sinew of the Third Coalition, which was formed in 1805 by Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Sweden to overthrow Napoleon.

Austria naturally smarted under the provisions of the treaty of Lunéville quite as much as under those of Campo Formio. Francis II was aroused by French predominance in Italy and now that he had added the title of "hereditary emperor of Austria" to his shadowy dignity as "Holy Roman Emperor" he was irritated by the upstart Napoleon's assumption of an imperial title.

In Russia the assassination of the Tsar Paul, the crazy admirer of Bonaparte, had called to the throne in 1801 the active though easily influenced Alexander I. In early life Alexander had acquired a smattering of the "enlightened" philosophy of the eighteenth century, its liberalism and its humanitarianism. At bottom, however, he was quite as despotic and militaristic as Peter the Great or Catherine the Great,<sup>1</sup> and he was peculiarly anxious to play a commanding rôle in Europe. The poverty-stricken condition of Russia made it difficult for him to finance his army, but when Pitt offered liberal subsidies, he perceived an opportunity to surmount the one obstacle to his ambition; and Pitt's assurance that Napoleon was the enemy of liberty and humanity provided Alexander with "enlightened" justification for his action. So the tsar joined his army with that of Austria, and in the autumn of 1805 the allies advanced through southern Germany toward the Rhine.

Pitt had done his best to bring Prussia into the coalition, but the Prussian king, Frederick William III (1797-1840), was timid and irresolute, and, despite the protests of his people, was cajoled by Napoleon's offer of Hanover into a declaration of neutrality. Bavaria and Württemberg, from jealousy of Austria, became open allies of the French emperor.

Before the troops of the Third Coalition could threaten the eastern frontier of France, Napoleon abandoned his projected invasion of Great Britain, broke up his huge armaments along the Atlantic coast, and, with his usual rapidity of march, hurled his finely trained army upon the Austrians near the town of Ulm in Württemberg. There, on 20 October, 1805, the Austrian commander, with some 50,000 men, surrendered, and the road to Vienna was open to the French.

<sup>1</sup> See above, ch. viii.

This startling military success was followed on the very next day by a naval defeat quite as sensational and, in the long run, quite as decisive. On 21 October, the allied French and Spanish fleets, issuing from the harbor of Cadiz, encountered the British fleet under Lord Nelson, and in a terrific battle off Cape Trafalgar were completely worsted. Lord Nelson lost his life in the conflict, but from that day to the close of the Napoleonic era British supremacy on the high seas was not seriously challenged.

Wasting no tears or time on the loss of sea-power, Napoleon hastened to follow up his land advantages. Occupying Vienna, he turned northward into Moravia where Francis II and Alexander I had gathered an army of Austrians and Russians. On 2 December, 1805, the anniversary of his coronation as emperor,—his “lucky” day, as he termed it,—Napoleon overwhelmed the allies at Austerlitz.

The immediate result of the campaign of Ulm and Austerlitz was the enforced withdrawal of Austria from the Third Coalition.

Late in December, 1805, the Emperors Francis II and Napoleon signed the treaty of Pressburg, whereby the former ceded Venetia to the kingdom of Italy and recognized Napoleon as its king, and resigned the Tyrol to Bavaria, and outlying provinces in western Germany to Württemberg. Both Bavaria and Württemberg were converted into kingdoms. By the humiliating treaty of Pressburg, Austria thus lost 3,000,000 subjects and large revenues; was cut off from Italy, Switzerland, and the Rhine; and was reduced to the rank of a second-rate power.

For a time it seemed as if the withdrawal of Austria from the Third Coalition might be compensated for by the adherence of

Prussia. Stung by the refusal of Napoleon to withdraw his troops from southern Germany and by the bootless haggling over the transference of Hanover, and goaded on by his patriotic and high-spirited wife, the beautiful Queen Louise, timid Frederick William III at length ventured in 1806 to declare war against France. Then, with a ridiculously misplaced confidence in the old-time reputation of Frederick the Great, without waiting for assistance from the Russians who were coming up, the Prussian army—some 150,000

strong, under the aged duke of Brunswick—advanced against the 200,000 veterans of Napoleon. The resulting battles of Jena and Auerstädt proved the great superiority of Napoleon's army over the Prussian; they marked not only a disastrous defeat but the total collapse of the Prussian army and the destruction of the military prestige acquired under Frederick the Great.<sup>1</sup> Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph and took possession of the greater part of the kingdom of Prussia.

The Russians still remained to be dealt with. Winter was a bad season for campaigning in East Prussia, and it was not until June, 1807, at Friedland, that Napoleon was able to administer to the Russians a defeat comparable with those which he had administered to the Austrians at Austerlitz and to the Prussians at Jena. The Tsar Alexander at once sued for peace. At Tilsit, on a raft moored in the middle of the River Niemen, Napoleon and Alexander met and arranged the terms of peace for France, Russia, and Prussia. The impressionable tsar was dazzled by the striking personality and the unexpected magnanimity of the emperor of the French. Hardly an inch of Russian soil was exacted, only a promise to coöperate in excluding British trade from the Continent. Alexander was given to understand that he might deal as he would with Finland and Turkey. "What is Europe?" exclaimed the emotional tsar: "Where is it, if it is not you and I?"

**The Treaty  
of Tilsit  
and the  
Dissolu-  
tion of the  
Third  
Coalition**

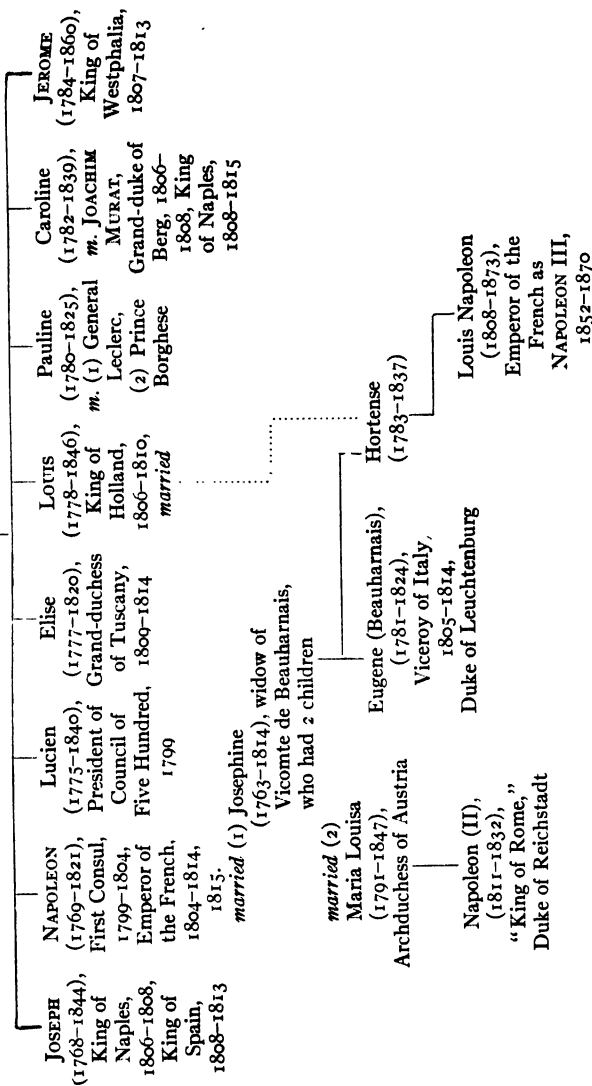
But Prussia had to pay the price of the alliance between French and Russian emperors. From Prussia was torn the portion of Poland which was erected into the grand-duchy of Warsaw, under Napoleon's obsequious ally, the elector of Saxony. De-spoiled altogether of half of her territories, compelled to reduce her army to 42,000 men, and forced to maintain French troops on her remaining lands until a large war indemnity was paid, Prussia was reduced to the rank of a third-rate power. Tilsit destroyed the Third Coalition and made Napoleon master of the Continent. Only Great Britain and Sweden remained under arms, and against the latter country Napoleon was enabled to employ both Denmark and Russia.

Early in 1808 a Russian army crossed the Finnish border without any previous declaration of war, and simultaneously a Danish

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 334, 343, 348.

# THE BONAPARTE FAMILY

Charles Buonaparte *m.* Letizia Ramolino  
(1746-1785) | (1750-1836)



force prepared to invade Sweden from the Norwegian frontier. The ill-starred Swedish king, Gustavus IV (1792-1809), found it was all he could do, even with British assistance, to fight off the Danes. The little Finnish army, left altogether unsupported, succumbed after an heroic struggle against overwhelming odds, and in 1809 Sweden agreed to cede Finland and the Åland Islands to Russia. Thus Sweden lost her duchy of Finland, and she was permitted to retain a small part of Pomerania only at the humiliating price of making peace with Napoleon and excluding British goods from all her ports. In the same year, Gustavus IV was compelled to abdicate in favor of his uncle, Charles XIII (1809-1818), an infirm and childless old man, who was prevailed upon to designate as his successor one of Napoleon's marshals, General Bernadotte. Surely, Napoleon might hope to dominate Sweden as he then dominated every other Continental state. Of course, Great Britain, triumphant on the seas, remained unconquered, but the British army, the laughing-stock of Europe, could expect to achieve little where Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden had failed.

**Russia's  
Conquest  
of Finland**

The year that followed Tilsit may be taken as marking the height of Napoleon's career. The Corsican adventurer was emperor of a France that extended from the Po to the North Sea, from the Pyrenees and the papal states to the Rhine, a France united, patriotic, and in enjoyment of many of the fruits of the Revolution. He was king of an Italy which embraced the fertile valley of the Po and the ancient possessions of Venice, and which was administered by a viceroy, his stepson and heir-apparent, Eugène Beauharnais. Pope Pius VII was his friend and ally. Napoleon's brother Joseph governed the kingdom of Naples. His brother Louis and his stepdaughter Hortense were king and queen of Holland. His sister Elise was princess of the diminutive state of Lucca. The kings of Spain and Denmark were his admirers, and the tsar of Russia called him friend and brother. A restored Poland was a recruiting station for his army. Prussia and Austria had become second- or third-rate powers, and French influence once more predominated in Germany.

**The Napo-  
leonic  
Empire at  
its Height**

It was in Germany, in fact, that Napoleon's achievements were particularly striking. Before his iron touch many of the time-honored political and social institutions of that country crumbled



away. As early as 1801 the diminution of the number of German states had begun. The treaty of Lunéville had made imperative some action on the part of the diet of the Holy Roman Empire in order to indemnify the rulers whose lands on the left bank of the Rhine had been incorporated into France, and to grant "compensations" to the south German states. After laborious negotiations, lasting from 1801 to 1803, the diet authorized<sup>1</sup> the wholesale confiscation throughout southern Germany of ecclesiastical lands and of free cities. One hundred and twelve formerly independent states lying east of the Rhine were wiped out of existence and nearly one hundred others on the west bank were embodied in France. Thus the number of German states was suddenly reduced from more than three hundred to less than one hundred, and the states which mainly benefited, along with France and Prussia, were the southern states of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden, which Napoleon desired to use as an equipoise against both Austria and Prussia. In this ambition he was not disappointed, for in the War of the Third Coalition (1805) he received important assistance from the three southern states, all of which were in turn liberally rewarded for their services, the rulers of Bavaria and Württemberg being proclaimed kings.<sup>2</sup>

The year 1806 was epochal in German political history. On 19 July, the Confederation of the Rhine was formally established with Napoleon as "protector." The kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, the grand-dukes of Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Berg, the archbishop of Mainz, and nine minor princes virtually seceded from the Holy Roman Empire and accepted the "protection" of Napoleon, whom they pledged themselves to support with an army of 63,000 men. On 1 August, Napoleon declared that he no longer recognized the Holy Roman Empire, and on 6 August the Habsburg emperor, Francis II, resigned the crown which his ancestors for centuries had worn. The work of a long line of French kings and statesmen,—Francis I, Henry IV, Richelieu, Mazarin,

**The Terri-  
torial Rev-  
olution  
within  
Germany**

**The End  
of the Holy  
Roman  
Empire**

<sup>1</sup> By a decree, called the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*.

<sup>2</sup> The elector of Saxony also entered into a close alliance with Napoleon in 1806, and was rewarded with the titles of king of Saxony and grand-duke of Warsaw.

Louis XIV,—was thus consummated by Napoleon Bonaparte. The Holy Roman Empire had at last come to an inglorious end. Its last emperor had to content himself with his newly appropriated title of Francis I, Hereditary Emperor of Austria. The dignity and might of the proud Habsburgs had declined before a mere upstart of the people as never before a royal Bourbon. And this same year, 1806, witnessed, as we have seen, not only the humiliation of Austria but the deepest degradation of Prussia.

**The Establishment of the Empire of Austria**

By 1808 all Germany was at the mercy of Napoleon. Prussia was shorn of half her possessions and forced to obey the behest of her conqueror. The Confederation of the Rhine was enlarged and solidified. A kingdom of Westphalia was carved out of northern and western Germany at the expense of Prussia, Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse, and bestowed upon Jerome, brother of Napoleon. The grand-duchy of Berg was governed by the protector's plebeian brother-in-law, Joachim Murat. And, most significant fact of all, wherever the French emperor's rule extended, there followed the abolition of feudalism and serfdom, the recognition of equality of all citizens before the law, the principles and precepts of the Code Napoléon.

**The Spread of the Revolutionary Principles outside of France**

This was the true apogee of Napoleon's power. From the November day in 1799 when the successful general had overthrown the corrupt Directory down to 1808, his story is a magnificent succession of the triumphs of peace and of war. Whatever be the judgment of his contemporaries or of posterity upon his motives, there can be little question that throughout these nine years he appeared to France and to Europe what he proclaimed himself—"the son of the Revolution." He it was who in the lull between the combats of the Second Coalition and those of the Third had consolidated the work of the democratic patriots from Mirabeau to Carnot and had assured to France certain permanent fruits of the Revolution in the domains of property, law, religion, education, administration, and finance. He it was who, if narrowing the concept of liberty, had broadened the significance of equality by the very lesson of his own rise to power and had deepened the meaning of fraternity by lavishing affection and devotion upon that machine of democratic nationalism—the national army—the "nation in arms." And he it was who, true to the

revolutionary tradition of striking terror into the hearts of the divine-right monarchs of Europe, had with a mighty noise shaken the whole Continent and brought down many a political and social institution of the "old régime" tumbling in ruins throughout central and southern Europe. He had made revolutionary reform too solid and too widespread to admit of its total extinction by the allied despots of Europe. The dream which a Leopold and a Frederick William had cherished in 1791 of restoring conditions in France as they had been prior to 1789, was at last dispelled. But the despots were at least to get rid of the agent of their undoing; they were to take revenge on Napoleon.

### 3. TIGHTENING OF FOREIGN OPPOSITION TO NAPOLEON

From 1808 to 1814—six dreadful years—Napoleon's power was constantly on the wane. Nor are the reasons for his ultimate failure difficult to perceive. Some of the very elements which had contributed most to the upbuilding of his great empire with its dependent kingdoms and duchies were in the long run elements of weakness and instability—vital causes of its eventual downfall. One trouble was the limitation of individual genius. Altogether too much depended upon the physical and mental strength of one man.

**Weaknesses in the Napoleonic System** Napoleon was undoubtedly a genius, but he was also human. He was growing older, more corpulent, less able to withstand exertion and fatigue, fonder of affluence and ease. On the other hand, every fresh success confirmed his belief in his own ability and whetted his appetite for power until his ambition was growing into madness and his egotism was becoming mania. His aversion from taking the advice of others increased so that even the subtle intriguers, Talleyrand and Fouché, were less and less admitted to his confidence. The emperor would brook the appearance of no actor on the French stage other than himself, although on that stage during those crowded years there was too much for a single emperor, albeit a master emperor, to do.

**Limitations of Individual Genius** The second serious defect in the Napoleonic system was the fact that its very foundation was military. What had enabled the

National Convention in the days of the Revolution's darkest peril to roll back the tide of foreign invasion was the introduction of conscription and the other devices of the new militarism which Carnot and his fellow Jacobins had sponsored.<sup>1</sup> It was this new militarism of the French revolutionaries which Napoleon Bonaparte took over, extended, and perfected. He certainly labored to keep at high pitch the morale of his army. He talked much of its "mission" and its "destiny," of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and he kept alive its traditions of heroism and duty. He improved its discipline, its material well-being, its effectiveness, and its sense of "honor." But more and more Napoleon emphasized what was becoming evident in the later days of the Revolution, that the new militarism was essentially tyrannical, that it was less for "defense" than for "offense," and that its ends were glamor and glory for the victors and misery for the vanquished. And as years passed by and the deadly campaigns repeated themselves and the number of patriotic volunteers lessened, Napoleon resorted more and more to conscription—forcibly taking away thousands of young Frenchmen from peaceful and productive pursuits at home and strewing their bones throughout the length and breadth of the Continent.<sup>2</sup>

**The Meta-  
morphosis  
of Mili-  
tarism**

Moreover, as the French empire expanded and other peoples were brought into a dependent or allied position, Napoleon drafted more and more Poles, Germans, Italians, Dutch, Spaniards, and Danes. Thereby the "Grand Army" became increasingly heterogeneous, and its loyalty to the emperor outstripped its devotion to revolutionary principles. It is true that many of the Frenchmen who composed the majority of the Grand Army still entertained the notion that they were fighting for liberty, equality, and fraternity. It is likewise true that the close contact of these Frenchmen with soldiers of other nationalities was a

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 632-634, 637, 644.

<sup>2</sup> The annual conscription rose from 60,000 in 1804 to 1,140,000 in 1813. Altogether, Napoleon conscripted 2,613,000 Frenchmen from 1800 to 1813. As he phrased it, "God marches with the biggest battalions."

most effective means of communicating the revolutionary doctrines throughout Europe. But it is also true that Napoleon's extension of the earlier policy of quartering French troops upon the lands of their enemies or of their allies, and thereby conserving the resources of their own country, operated to develop the utmost hatred for France, for the Revolution, and for Napoleon. This hatred helped to produce, particularly in Germany and in Spain, a truly nationalist feeling among the masses, so that those very peoples to whom the notions of liberty and equality had first come as a promise of deliverance from the oppression of their own divine-right rulers now used the same notions to justify them in rising as nationalists against the despotism of a foreign military oppressor.

It was thus the character of the emperor himself and his military exigencies that, taken in conjunction with the so-called "continental system" and the nationalist uprisings, made Napoleon's empire but an episode in the story of modern times. It is now time to explain the "continental system" and then to see how it reacted throughout Europe upon the feeling of national patriotism to bring about the downfall of the Corsican adventurer.

"Continental system" is the term commonly applied to the curious character which the warfare between Napoleon and Great

**The "Continental System," and the Impasse between France and Britain**

Britain gradually assumed. By 1806 the interesting situation had developed that Great Britain was indisputable mistress of the seas while Napoleon was no less indisputable master of the Continent. The battles of the Nile, of Copenhagen, and of Trafalgar had been to the British what those of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena had been to the French. On one hand the destruction of the French fleet, together with the Danish, Dutch, and Spanish squadrons, had effectually prevented Napoleon from realizing his long-cherished dream of invading England. On the other hand, the British army was not strong enough to cope successfully with Napoleon on land, and the European powers which all along had been subsidized by Great Britain had been cowed into submission by the French emperor. Apparently neither France nor Great Britain could strike each other by ordinary military means, and yet neither would sue for peace.

The French victory at Jena in October, 1806, gave Napoleon

complete control of the continent, except for Russia. The very next month he followed up his successes by inaugurating a maritime campaign against his arch-enemy, Great Britain herself; but the campaign was to be conducted in the field of economics rather than in the purview of military science. England, it must be remembered, had become, thanks to the long series of dynastic and colonial wars that filled the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the chief commercial nation of the world: she had a larger number of citizens who made their living as ship-owners, sailors, and traders than any other country in the world. Then, too, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter,<sup>1</sup> it was in the England of the eighteenth century that the Industrial Revolution began,—a marvellous improvement in manufacturing, which fostered the growth of a powerful industrial class and enabled the English to make goods more cheaply and in greater profusion and to sell them more readily, at lower prices, both at home and abroad, than any other people in the world. Industry was fast becoming the basis of Great Britain's wealth, and the commercial and capitalist classes were acquiring new strength and influence. It was, therefore, against "a nation of shopkeepers," as Napoleon contemptuously dubbed the English, that he must direct his new campaign.

To Napoleon's clear and logical mind, the nature of the problem was plain. Deprived of the command of the sea, he must attack Great Britain in what appeared to be her one vulnerable spot—in her commerce and industry. If he could prevent the importation of British goods into the Continent, he would deprive his rivals of the chief markets for their products, ruin British commerce and industry, and then secure an advantageous peace. It was a most precarious gamble, for Napoleon must have perceived that the Continental peoples would be almost certain to oppose the closure of their ports to the cheaper manufactured articles of Great Britain and to the export of their own agricultural products; they would not be likely to commit economic suicide in order to hurt somebody else. But the stakes were high and the emperor of the French was a good gambler. From 1806 to 1814 the struggle between Napoleon and Great Britain was an economic endurance-test. On the one hand, the

**Napoleon's  
Determination to  
Hit at  
Britain's  
Trade and  
Industry**

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 3, ch. xv.

question was whether the British government could retain the support of the British people. On the other hand, the question was whether Napoleon could rely upon the coöperation of the whole Continent.

The "continental system" had been foreshadowed under the Directory and in the early years of the Consulate, but it was not until the Berlin Decree (November, 1806) that the first great attempt was made to define and enforce it. In this decree, Napoleon proclaimed a state of blockade against the British Isles and closed French and allied ports to ships coming from Great Britain or her colonies. The Berlin Decree was subsequently strengthened and extended by decrees at Warsaw (January, 1807), Milan (December, 1807), and Fontainebleau (October, 1810). The Milan Decree provided that even neutral vessels sailing from any British port or from countries occupied by British troops might be seized by French warships or privateers. The Fontainebleau Decree went so far as to order the confiscation and public burning of all British manufactured goods found in the Napoleonic states.

To these imperial decrees the British government replied with celebrated "orders in council" (January–November, 1807), which

**British  
Efforts to  
Hit Back**

declared all vessels trading with France or her allies liable to capture and provided further that in certain instances neutral vessels must touch at a British port.

Thus the issue was squarely joined. Napoleon would suffer no importation of British goods whether by combatants or by neutrals. The British would choke off the sea trade of France and her dependencies. In both cases the neutrals would be the worst sufferers. The effects of the conflict were destined to be far-reaching.

The British by virtue of their sea-power could come nearer to enforcing their "orders in council" than could Napoleon to giving

**British  
Difficulties**

full effect to his imperial decrees. Of course they had their troubles with neutrals. The stubborn effort of Denmark to preserve its independence of action in poli-

tics and trade was frustrated in 1807 when a British expedition bombarded Copenhagen and seized the remnant of the Danish navy. From that time until 1814 Denmark was an ally of Napoleon. Against the Americans, too, who took advantage of the "continental system" to draw into their own hands a large portion of the carrying trade, the British vigorously applied the or-

ders in council, and the consequent ill-feeling culminated in the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States. But on the whole, the British had less trouble with neutrals than did Napoleon. And compared with the prodigious hardships which the "system" imposed upon the Continental peoples and the consequent storms of popular opposition to its author, the contemporaneous distress in England was never acute. The British nation at large never seriously wavered in moral and material support of the patriotic Tory government.

Here was the failure of Napoleon. It proved physically impossible for him to apply the "continental system" widely and thoroughly enough to gain his point. In many cases, to stave off opposition, he authorized exceptions to his own decrees. If he could have prevailed upon every Continental state to close its ports to British goods simultaneously and for several successive years, and to sacrifice its own foreign trade, he would still have been confronted with a difficult task to prevent smuggling and the bribery of customs officials, which reached large proportions even in France and in the surrounding states that he had under fairly effective control. But to bring all Continental states into line with his economic campaign against Great Britain was a colossal task, to the performance of which he subordinated all his subsequent policies.

We have seen how by the treaty of Tilsit (1807) Napoleon extorted promises from the tsar of Russia and the king of Prussia to exclude British goods from their respective countries. He himself undertook to enforce the decrees in the French empire, in the kingdom of Italy, in the confederation of the Rhine, and in the grand-duchy of Warsaw. Brother Joseph did his will in Naples, Brother Jerome in Westphalia, Sister Elise in Tuscany, and Brother Louis was expected to do his will in Holland. The outcome of the war with Sweden in 1808 was the completion of the closure of all Scandinavian ports to the British. Napoleon's determination to have his decrees executed in the papal states, as well as his high-handed treatment of matters affecting the Catholic Church in France, brought him into conflict with Pope Pius VII, a gentle but courageous man, who in daring to excommunicate the European taskmaster was summarily deprived of his temporal rule and carried off a prisoner,

**Napoleon's  
Greater  
Difficulties**

**Subordination of  
French  
Foreign  
Policy to  
Exigencies  
of the Continental  
System**



first to Grenoble, then to Savona, and finally to Fontainebleau, where he resided, heaped with disgrace and insults, until 1814. In 1809 Napoleon formally incorporated the papal states into the French empire. And when in the next year Louis Bonaparte gave clear signs of an intention to promote the best interests of his Dutch subjects, even to his brother's detriment, by admitting British goods, he was peremptorily deposed, and Holland, too, was incorporated into the ever-enlarging French empire. Henceforth, the Dutch had to bear the burdens of conscription and of crushing taxation.

Meanwhile Napoleon was devoting special attention to the exclusion of British goods from Portugal and Spain, and political conditions in these countries seemed to favor his designs. For over a hundred years Portugal had been linked in close trade relations with England, ever since the Methuen Treaty of 1703,<sup>1</sup> which, in return for the admission of English woollens into Portugal, had granted differential duties favoring the importation of Portuguese wines into England and had thus provided a good market for an important Portuguese product to the disadvantage mainly of the French. Early in his public career Napoleon had tried, for a time successfully,<sup>2</sup> to break these commercial relations between Great Britain and Portugal, but it was not until after Tilsit that he entered seriously upon the work. He then formally demanded the adherence of Portugal to the "continental system" and the seizure of all British subjects and property within the kingdom. Prince John, the regent of the small country, protested, besought Great Britain for aid, hesitated, and finally refused. Already a Franco-Spanish army was on its way to force compliance with the emperor's demands.

In the court of the Spanish Bourbons was a situation which Napoleon could readily utilize in order to have his way both in Portugal and in Spain. On the throne of Spain was seated the aging Charles IV (1788-1808), boorish, foolish, easily duped. By his side sat his queen, a coarse sensuous woman "with a tongue

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> In 1801, as First Consul, Napoleon had prevailed upon Spain to attack Portugal in order to secure the repudiation of the Methuen Treaty and the promise of hostility to Great Britain. This step had proved fatal to Portuguese trade, and in 1804 the Portuguese government had purchased from Napoleon a solemn recognition of neutrality.

like a fishwife's." Their heir was Prince Ferdinand, a conceited irresponsible young braggart in his early twenties. And their favorite, the true ruler of Spain, if Spain at this time could be said to have a ruler, was Godoy, a vain flashy adventurer, who was loved by the queen, shielded by the king, and envied by the heir. Under such a combination it is not strange that Spain from 1795 to 1808 was but a vassal state to France. Nor is it strange that Napoleon was able in 1807 to secure the approval of the Spanish king to the partition of Portugal, a liberal share of which was promised to the precious Godoy.

**Napoleon's  
Interven-  
tion in  
Spain**

Thus French troops were suffered to pour across Spain, and, in October, 1807, to invade Portugal. On 1 December, Lisbon was occupied and the "continental system" proclaimed in force, but on the preceding day the Portuguese royal family escaped and, under convoy of the British fleet, set sail for their South American colony of Brazil.<sup>1</sup> Then it was that Napoleon's true intentions in regard to Spain, as well as Portugal, became evident.

French troops continued to cross the Pyrenees and to possess themselves of the whole Iberian peninsula. In Spain public opinion blamed the feeble king and the detested favorite for this invasion of the country, and in the recriminations that ensued at court Prince Ferdinand warmly espoused the popular side. Riots followed. Charles IV, to save Godoy, abdicated and announced the succession of Ferdinand VII (17 March, 1808). On the pretext of mediating between the rival factions in the Bourbon court, Napoleon lured Charles and Ferdinand and Godoy to Bayonne on the French frontier and there by threats and cajolery persuaded both king and prince to resign all claims upon their throne. Charles retired to Rome on a pension from Napoleon; Ferdinand was kept for six years under strict military guard at Talleyrand's château; the Bourbons had ceased to reign.<sup>2</sup> Brother Joseph Bonaparte was at once promoted to the throne of Spain, and Brother-in-law Joachim Murat sup-  
planted him as king of Naples.

**Abdication  
of the  
Spanish  
Bourbons**

**Joseph  
Bonaparte  
as King  
of Spain**

<sup>1</sup> For a number of years, Rio de Janeiro, rather than Lisbon, was the real Portuguese capital.

<sup>2</sup> Except the Bourbon king of Naples, who continued to exercise sway, under British naval protection, in the island of Sicily.

In July, 1808, under protection of French troops, Joseph Bonaparte was crowned at Madrid. Forthwith he proceeded to confer upon his new subjects the favors of the Napoleonic régime. He decreed equality before the law, individual liberties, abolition of feudalism and serfdom, educational reforms, suppression of the Inquisition, diminution of monasteries, confiscation of church property, public improvements, and, last but not least, the vigorous enforcement of the "continental system."

The comparative ease with which Napoleon had thus been able to supplant the Spanish Bourbons was equalled only by the difficulty which he and his brother experienced with the Spanish people. Until 1808 the Corsican adventurer had had to deal primarily with divine-right monarchs and their old-fashioned professional armies. Thereafter he was confronted with real nations, inspired by much the same emotional patriotism which had inspired the French and dominated by much the same revolutionary fervor. The Spanish people despised their late king as weak and traitorous; they hated their new king as a foreigner and an upstart. To Spain they were patriotically loyal to the core: priests and nobles made common cause with commoners and peasants, and all agreed that they would not brook foreign interference with their domestic concerns. Spain blazed forth in angry insurrection. Revolutionary committees, or *juntas*, were speedily organized in the provinces; troops were enrolled; and a nationalist reaction was in full swing. By August, 1808, Joseph was obliged to flee from Madrid and the French troops were in retreat toward the Pyrenees.

To add to the discomfiture of the French, George Canning, the British foreign minister, promptly promised his country's active assistance to a movement whose real significance he already clearly perceived. In defiant words he laid down the British policy which would obtain until Napoleon had been overthrown: "We shall proceed upon the principle that any nation of Europe which starts up to oppose a power which, whether professing insidious peace or declaring open war, is the common enemy of all nations, becomes instantly our ally." In August, 1808, true to this declaration, a British army under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, subsequently duke of Wellington, landed

**The  
National  
Uprising  
in Spain  
against the  
French**

**British  
Support of  
National  
Uprisings**

**The Penin-  
sular War**

in Portugal and proceeded to coöperate with Portuguese and Spaniards against the French. It was the beginning of the so-called Peninsular War, which, with little interruption, was to last until 1813 and to spell the first disaster for Napoleon.

Within three weeks after their landing the British were in possession of Portugal. Roused by this unexpected reverse, Napoleon assumed personal command of the French forces in the peninsula. And such was his vigor and resourcefulness that in December, 1808, he reinstated Joseph in Madrid and drove the main British army out of Spain. The success of Napoleon, however, was but temporary and illusory. Early in 1809 grave developments in another part of Europe called him away from Spain, and the marshals whom he left behind quarrelled with one another and at the same time experienced to the full the difficulties which Napoleon himself would have encountered had he remained.

The difficulties which impeded French military operations in the Iberian peninsula were well-nigh insurmountable. First, the nature of the country furnished several obstacles. Farms were poor, settlements sparse, provisions scarce; the French armies found difficulty in following their usual practice of living off the land. Secondly, the sudden alternations of heat and cold, to which the northern part of Spain is liable, coupled with the insanitary condition of many of the towns, spread disease among the French soldiery. Thirdly, the succession of fairly high and steep mountain ranges, which cross the peninsula generally in a direction of northwest to southeast, prevented any campaigning on the large scale to which Napoleonic tactics were best adapted, and put a premium upon loose, irregular guerrilla fighting, in which the Spaniards were adepts.<sup>1</sup> In connection with these obstacles arising from the nature of the country must be mentioned the fierce patriotic determination of the native people, and the arms and trained commanders furnished by the British.

The era of national revolts had dawned, and it was not long before Austria learned the lesson from Spain. Ever since 1792 the Austrian ruler had borne the brunt of the Continental warfare against revolutionary France. Stung by the disasters and

<sup>1</sup> Napoleonic tactics might have been more successful against a large, well organized Spanish army, but it should be borne in mind that with the retirement of Charles IV the regular royal army of Spain disintegrated and disappeared.

humiliations of 1797, 1801, and 1805-1806, Emperor Francis II entrusted preparations for a war of liberation to the Archduke

**Austria's  
Premature  
War of  
Liberation** Charles and to Count Stadion, an able statesman and diplomat. The immediate results were: first, a far-reaching scheme of military reform, including the adoption of the principle of the "nation in arms" and of

the war organization and tactics in use among the French; and secondly, the awakening of a lively feeling of patriotism among the people of German Austria, especially among the Tyrolese, whom the arbitrary act of the French despot had handed over to Bavaria. The opportunity for an effective stroke appeared to be afforded by the Spanish situation, and the general result was a desperate attempt, premature as the event proved, to overthrow Napoleon. In April, 1809, Austria declared war, and immediately Archduke Charles with a splendid army advanced into Bavaria. Napoleon, who temporarily put the Spanish danger out of his mind, struck the archduke with his usual lightning rapidity, and within a week's time had forced him back upon Vienna. Before the middle of May the French emperor was once more in the Austrian capital. But the Archduke Charles remained resolute, and on 21-22 May inflicted such a reverse on Napoleon at Aspern on the Danube below Vienna, that, had there been prompt co-operation on the part of other Austrian commanders and speedy assistance from other states, the Corsican might then have been overthrown and Europe saved from a vaster deluge of blood.

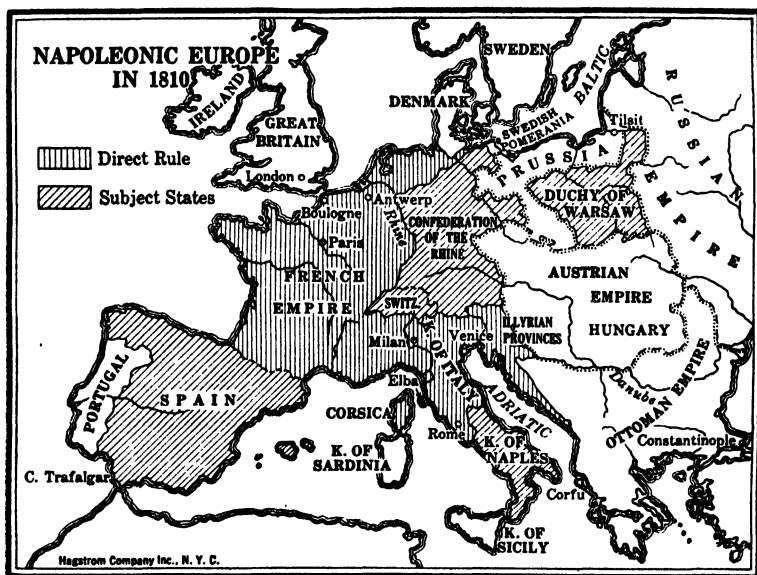
**The Battle  
of Wag-  
ram, and  
the Hu-  
miliation  
of the  
Austrian  
Habsburgs** As it was, Napoleon was allowed a breathing spell, and on 5-6 July he fought and won the hard battle of Wagram. Wagram was not a rout like Austerlitz, but it was sufficiently decisive to induce the Austrian emperor to accept an armistice, and, after the failure of a coöperating British expedition, to conclude the treaty of Vienna or Schönbrunn (October, 1809), by the

terms of which he had to surrender western Galicia to the grand-duchy of Warsaw and eastern Galicia to Russia; to cede the Illyrian provinces to the French empire; and to restore the Tyrol, together with a strip of Upper Austria, to Bavaria.

This treaty cost Austria four and one-half million subjects, a heavy war indemnity, and promises not to maintain an army in excess of 150,000 men and not to have commercial dealings with Great Britain. As an additional pledge of Austria's good be-

havior, and in order to assure a direct heir to his greatness, Napoleon shortly afterwards secured an annulment of his marriage with Josephine on the ground that it had not been solemnized in the presence of a parish priest, and early in 1810 he married a young Austrian archduchess, Maria Louisa, the daughter of the Emperor Francis II. Even this venture at first seemed successful, for in the following year a son was born who received the high-sounding appellation of king of Rome. But Austria remained at heart thoroughly hostile.

**Maria Louisa and the King of Rome**



Meanwhile, the nationalist reaction against Napoleon grew apace. In Prussia it reached even more ominous dimensions than in Austria or in Spain. Following so closely upon the victories of Frederick the Great, the disaster of Jena and the humiliation of Tilsit had been a doubly bitter cup for the Prussian people. Prussian statesmen were not lacking who put the blame for their country's degradation upon many of the social and political conditions which had characterized the "old régime" in all European monarchies, and, as these statesmen were called in counsel by King Frederick William III (1797-1840), the years

**Nationalist Awakening in Germany: the Regeneration of Prussia**

from 1807 to 1813 were marked by a series of internal reforms almost as significant in the history of Germany as were those from 1789 to 1791 in the history of France.

The credit of the Prussian "regeneration" belongs mainly to a great minister, the Baron vom Stein (1757-1831), and in the second place to the Chancellor Hardenberg (1750-1822), both of whom were influenced by the humanitarian and patriotic "enlightenment" of the eighteenth century. In October, 1807, Stein

**Stein and the End of Serfdom in Prussia** issued at Memel a celebrated "edict of emancipation," which abolished the institution of serfdom throughout Prussia and permitted the ownership of land by peasants and bourgeois as well as by nobles. The Prussian

peasants thus became personally free, although as compensation for the land they acquired they were still bound to make fixed payments to their lords in the form of rent. At the same time, all occupations and professions were thrown open to noble, commoner, and peasant alike. Stein's second important step was to strengthen the ministry and to introduce sweeping changes in the conduct of public business, reforms too complicated and too technical to receive detailed explanation in this place. His third great measure was the establishment (November, 1808) of new agencies of local government, in the English manner. Stein undoubtedly intended this last measure to be the corner-stone of an edifice of constitutional limited monarchy in Prussia, modelled after England's, but such political intentions he was unable to realize. King Frederick William III was immovably opposed to any lessening of royal authority in Prussia.

In 1811 Hardenberg continued the Prussian social reforms by making the peasants absolute owners of part of their holdings

**Hardenberg and the Peasants** and allotting the remainder to the former landlords in lieu of other compensation for their lost feudal and servile dues. During the same period, the army was reorganized by Scharnhorst and Gneisenau; compulsory universal service was extended in imitation of the example

of the French Revolutionaries, while the condition imposed by

**The New Prussian Army** Napoleon that the Prussian army should not exceed 42,000 men was practically evaded by replacing each body of 42,000 men by another of the same size as soon

as the first had undergone military training. In this way Prussia was prepared for an expected War of Liberation.

Of course Napoleon had some idea of what was happening in Prussia. He protested, he threatened, he actually succeeded late in 1808 in securing the dismissal of Stein. But the redoubtable Prussian reformer spent the next three years in trying to fan the nationalist flame in Austria and thence betook himself to Russia to poison the ear and mind of the Tsar Alexander against the emperor of the French. In the meantime Napoleon was far too busy with other matters to give thorough attention to the continued development of national feeling in Prussia. Here, German nationalism burned ever brighter through the exertions of patriotic societies, such as the *Tugendbund*, or "League of Virtue," through the writings of men like Fichte and Arndt, and, perhaps most permanently of all, through the noteworthy educational reforms, which, associated with the name of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), gave to Prussia the basis of her later common-school system and likewise the great nationalist university of Berlin (1809).

Popular  
Nationalist  
Agitation  
in Ger-  
many

It was no longer true that the French had a monopoly of the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, for which to fight. It was no longer a fact that they were the only nation defending their homes, their lands, and their rights. By 1810 the despotism of Napoleon was more selfish and more directly galling to the Prussian people than had been the threatened tyranny of Austrian and Prussian monarchs to an emancipated French nation in the dark days of 1792. Prussia was bankrupt, shorn of half her provinces, enduring the quartering of foreign soldiers, and suffering the ruin of her crops and the paralysis of her trade. Thanks to the "continental system," which had been none of their doing, the Prussian people witnessed the decay of their seaports, the rotting of ships in their harbors, the stoppage of agricultural exports and industrial imports, and the soaring of the cost of living. They were grumbling and getting into a temper that boded ill to the author of their injuries.

Meanwhile the warfare in Spain dragged on. In 1812 Wellington with his allied British and Spanish troops won a great victory at Salamanca, captured Madrid, and drove Joseph and the French north to Valencia. In the same year radical groups of Spaniards, who had learned revolutionary doctrines from the French, assembled at Cadiz and drafted a constitution for what they hoped



would be their regenerated country. This written constitution, next in age to the American and the French, long served as a model for "liberal" constitutions throughout southern Europe. After a preamble in praise of the "old fundamental laws of this monarchy," the constitution proclaimed the basic principle of the French Revolution: "Sovereignty is vested essentially in the nation, and accordingly it is to the nation exclusively that the right of making its fundamental laws belongs." The legislative power was to be exercised by the cortes, a single-chamber parliament elected for two years by indirect suffrage. The executive power was to be exercised by the king through his ministers: he was to have only a suspensive veto on the acts of the cortes. Furthermore, the constitution proclaimed the principles of individual liberty and legal equality and sought to abolish the old régime root and branch: provision was made for a thorough reorganization of courts, local administration, taxation, the army, and public education. While the framers of the constitution affirmed that "the religion of the Spanish nation is and always will be the Apostolic Church of Rome, the only true Church," they persisted in decreeing the suppression of the Inquisition and the secularization of ecclesiastical property. That such a radical constitution would be understood and championed forthwith by the whole Spanish people, only the most confirmed and fanatical optimist could believe, but, on the other hand, it was certain that the Spaniards as a nation were resolved that the "continental system" and the Bonaparte family must go. They might sacrifice liberty and equality but not nationalism.

At last the four fateful defects in the Napoleonic empire,—the character of Napoleon himself, the nature of his army, the "continental system," and the rise of nationalism,—were painfully in evidence. The drama thenceforth led irresistibly through two terrible acts—the Russian campaign and the Battle of the Nations—to the dénouement in the emperor's abdication and to a sorry epilogue in Waterloo.

#### 4. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FRENCH TERRITORIAL EMPIRE

It was the rupture between Napoleon and the Tsar Alexander that precipitated the final disasters. A number of events which transpired between the celebrated meeting at Tilsit in 1807 and

the memorable year of 1812 made a rupture inevitable. Tilsit had purported to divide the world between the two emperors, but Alexander, as junior partner in the firm, soon found that his chief function was to assist Napoleon in bringing all western and central Europe under the domination of the French empire, while he himself was allowed by no means a free rein in dealing with his own country's historic enemies—Sweden, Poland, and the Ottoman Empire.

**The  
Rupture  
between  
Napoleon  
and the  
Tsar  
Alexander**

To be sure, Alexander had wrested Finland from Sweden (1809), but Napoleon's forcing of Sweden into a war with Great Britain (1810-1812), presumably as an ally of Russia as well as of France, had prevented him from extending his territory farther in that direction. Then, too, the revival of a Polish state under the name of the grand-duchy of Warsaw and under French protection was a thorn in his flesh, which became all the more painful, more irritating, when it was enlarged after the Austrian War of 1809. Finally, Alexander's warfare against the Ottoman Empire was constantly handicapped by French diplomacy, so that when the treaty of Bucharest was at length concluded (28 May, 1812) it was due to British rather than to French assistance that Russia extended her southern boundary to the River Pruth. Alexander was particularly piqued when Napoleon dethroned one of the tsar's relatives in Oldenburg and arbitrarily annexed that duchy to the French empire, and he was deeply chagrined when the marriage of his ally with a Habsburg archduchess seemed to cement the bonds between France and Austria.

All these political differences might conceivably have been adjusted, had it not been for the economic breach which the "continental system" ever widened. Russia, at that time almost exclusively an agricultural country, suffered greatly from the stoppage of her grain exports to Britain, and popular protests and agitation alarmed the tsar. The result was a gradual suspension of the rigors of the "continental system" in Russia and the eventual return to normal trade relations as they had existed prior to Tilsit. This simple fact Napoleon could not and would not condone. "Russia's partial abandonment of the continental system was not merely a pretext but the real ground of the war. Napoleon had no alternative between fighting for his system and

abandoning the only method open to him of carrying on war against England."

By the opening of the year 1812 Napoleon was actively preparing for war on a large scale against his recent ally. From the Austrian court, thanks to his wife, he secured assurances of sympathy and the promise of a guard of 30,000 men to protect the right wing of his projected invasion of Russia. From the trembling Prussian king he wrung, by threats, permission to lead his invaders across Prussian soil and the support of 20,000 troopers for the left of his lines. A huge expedition was then gathered together: some 250,000 French veterans; 150,000 Germans from the confederation of the Rhine; 80,000 Italians; 60,000 Poles; and detachments of Dutch, Swiss, Danes, and Yugoslavs; in all, a mighty motley host of more than 600,000 men.

Simultaneously the Tsar Alexander made counter preparations. He came to a formal understanding with Great Britain. Through British mediation he made peace with the Turks and thus removed an enemy from his flank. And a series of treaties between himself, Great Britain, and Marshal Bernadotte, who was crown-prince of Sweden and tired of Napoleonic domination, guaranteed him in possession of Finland, assured him of a supporting Swedish army, and in return promised Norway as compensation to Sweden. A Russian army of 175,000 men was put in the field.

War seemed imminent by April, 1812. After leisurely completing his preparations, Napoleon crossed the Niemen on 24 June, and his invasion of Russia began. The French forces were greatly superior to the Russian forces in numbers, organization, and equipment. But the very weakness and inefficiency of the Russians proved advantageous to their cause. They could not or would not give open battle, but kept retreating farther and farther inland. In vain did Napoleon try to trap this or that Russian division into a fight. Unable to defeat or capture his foe, he penetrated ever deeper into Russia. Only once, at Borodino, on 7 September, did one of the Russian generals, Kutusov, seriously engage a part of the invading army. Both sides lost heavily in the engagement, but the French were able to take possession of Moscow a week later.

The very night of Napoleon's triumphal entry, the city was

**Preparations for War between France and Russia**

**Napoleon's Invasion of Russia**

set on fire through the carelessness of its own inhabitants. Barracks and foodstuffs were alike destroyed; the inhabitants fled; and what was left of the city was pillaged by the French troops as well as by the Russians. The lack of supplies and the impossibility of wintering in a ruined city, compelled Napoleon on 22 October, after an unsuccessful attempt to blow up the Kremlin, or citadel, to evacuate Moscow and to retrace his steps toward the Niemen. The Russian forces followed, still not risking major engagements, but continually harrassing the French rear-guard and cutting off stragglers.

The Napoleonic retreat from Moscow is one of the most horrible episodes in history. To the exasperating attacks of the pursuing Russians on the rear were added the severity of the weather and the barrenness of the country. Steady downpours of rain changed to blinding storms of sleet and snow. Swollen streams, heaps of abandoned luggage, and huge snow-drifts repeatedly blocked the line of march. The gaunt and desolate country, which the army had ravaged and pillaged during the summer's invasion, grimly mocked the retreating host. Exhaustion overcame thousands of troopers, who dropped by the wayside and beneath the snows gave their bodies to enrich the Russian soil. The retreat became a rout and all would have been lost had it not been for the almost superhuman efforts of the valiant rear-guard under Marshal Ney. As it was, a mere remnant of the *Grande Armée* recrossed the Niemen on 13 December, and, in pitiable plight, half-starved and with torn uniforms, reëntered Germany. Fully half a million lives had been sacrificed upon the fields of Russia to the ambition of one man. Yet in the face of these distressing facts, this one man felt called upon to announce to the afflicted French people that "the emperor has never been in better health!"

Napoleon's  
Retreat  
from  
Moscow

For a moment the Tsar Alexander hesitated. Russia at least was freed from the Napoleonic peril. To make peace in this hour of triumph might be of great advantage to his country and would involve no further risks on his part. But his own dreamy longing to pose as the chief figure on the European stage, the deliverer of oppressed nationalities, coupled with the insistent promptings of Baron vom Stein, who was always at his elbow, eventually decided him to complete the overthrow of his rival. Late in De

cember he signed a convention with the Prussian commander, General Yorck, whereby the Prussian army was to coöperate with the Russian and Swedish forces, and, in return, Prussia was to be restored to the position it had enjoyed prior to Jena. On 13 January, 1813, Alexander at the head of the Russian troops crossed the Niemen and proclaimed the liberty of the European peoples. King Frederick William III, amidst the enthusiastic rejoicing of his people, soon confirmed the convention of his general, and in March declared war against Napoleon. The War of Liberation had commenced.

The events of the year 1813 were as auspicious in the history of Germany as they were disastrous for the fortunes of Napoleon. Prussia led in the movement to free all the German-speaking people from French domination. From Prussia the national enthusiasm spread to the other states. Mecklenburg, which had been the last addition to the confederation of the Rhine, was the first to secede from it. All northern and central Germany was speedily in popular revolt, and the Prussian army, swelled by many patriotic enlistments, marched southward into Saxony. Austria, divided between fear of Napoleon and jealousy of the growing power of Russia, mobilized her army and waited for events to shape her conduct. In these trying circumstances Napoleon acted with his accustomed promptness and vigor. Since his arrival in France late in 1812, he had been frantically engaged in recruiting a new army, which, with the wreck of the *Grande Armée* and the assistance that was still forthcoming from Naples and southern Germany, now numbered 200,000 men, and with which he was ready to take the offensive in Saxony. On 2 May, 1813, he fell on the allied Russians and Prussians at Lutzen and defeated them, but was unable to follow up his advantage for want of cavalry. On 20-21 May, he gained another fruitless victory at Bautzen.

At this point an armistice was arranged through the friendly mediation of Austria. Metternich, the chief minister of that country, proposed a general European peace on the basis of the reconstruction of Prussia, the re-partition of the grand-duchy of Warsaw by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the re-cession of the Illyrian provinces to Austria, the dissolution of the confederation of the Rhine, and the freedom of the German ports of Hamburg

and Lübeck. But it was a decisive victory, not peace, that Napoleon most wanted, and the only reason which had induced him to accept the armistice was to gain time in order that reinforcements from Italy and France might arrive. The delay, however, was fatal to the French emperor, for the British government utilized it to conclude new treaties with the Continental foes of Napoleon, assuring them of larger financial subsidies and thereby enabling them to strengthen their armies. The numerical balance of armed force, thus established between the allies and Napoleon, was tipped against the latter when, on 12 August, 1813, Austria, whose peace proposals Napoleon had rudely rejected, formally joined the coalition against him.

**The British  
Subsidy  
Treaties**

**The Allies  
Joined by  
Austria**

Napoleon was at Dresden in command of armies aggregating 400,000 men. Gathering against him in Bohemia, Silesia, and northern Prussia were Austrian, Prussian, and Russian forces of over 500,000 men. At Dresden, in August, he won his last great victory, against the Austrian army of General Schwarzenberg. As his marshals suffered repeated reverses, he was unable to follow up his own successes and found himself gradually hemmed in by the allies, until at Leipzig he turned at bay. There, on 16-19 October, was fought the great three-day "Battle of the Nations." Against 300,000 troops of the allies, Napoleon could use only 200,000, and of these the Saxon contingent deserted in the heat of the fray. It was by military prowess that the French empire had been reared; its doom was sealed by the battle of Leipzig. Napoleon sacrificed on that field another 40,000 lives, besides 30,000 prisoners and a large quantity of artillery and supplies. A fortnight later, with the remnant of his army, he recrossed the Rhine. Germany was freed.

**The Battle  
of the  
Nations**

The "Battle of the Nations," following within a year the disasters of the retreat from Moscow, marked the collapse of Napoleon's power outside of France. His empire and vassal states tumbled like a house of cards. The confederation of the Rhine dissolved, and its princes hastened, with a single exception, to throw in their lot with the victorious allies. King Jerome Bonaparte was chased out of Westphalia. Holland was liberated, and William of Orange returned to his country as king. Denmark submitted and by the

**Collapse  
of the  
Napoleonic  
Empire**

treaty of Kiel (January, 1814) engaged to cede Norway to Sweden in return for a monetary payment and Swedish Pomerania. Austria readily recovered the Tyrol and the Illyrian provinces and occupied Venetia and Switzerland. Even Joachim Murat deserted his brother-in-law, and, in order to retain Naples, came to terms with Austria. Only Polish Warsaw and the king of Saxony<sup>1</sup> remained loyal to the Napoleonic alliance; the territories of both were in possession of the allies.

With the remnant of his defeated army and what young boys and old men he was able to recruit, Napoleon needlessly prolonged the struggle on French soil. At the close of 1813 Austria prevailed upon her more or less willing allies to offer him fairly favorable terms: France might retain her "natural boundaries"—the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees; and Napoleon might continue to rule over a region which would have gladdened the heart of a Richelieu or of a Louis XIV. But it was still victory and not peace upon which the supreme egotist had set his mind. He still dreamed of overwhelming Prussia and Russia.

Early in 1814 three large foreign armies, totalling 400,000 men, and accompanied by the emperors of Russia and Austria and the king of Prussia, invaded northern France and converged on Paris. Blücher with his German troops was advancing up the Moselle to Nancy; Schwarzenberg with the Austrians crossed the Rhine to the south at Basel and Neu Breisach; Bernadotte in the Netherlands was welding Swedes, Dutch, and Prussians into a northern army. Meanwhile, the great defeat which Wellington with his allied army of British, Spaniards, and Portuguese, had inflicted upon the French at Vittoria (21 June, 1813) had for the last time driven King Joseph from Madrid and in effect cleared the whole Iberian peninsula of Napoleon's soldiers. The British general had then gradually fought his way through the Pyrenees so that in the spring of 1814 a fourth victorious allied army in the neighborhood of Toulouse threatened Napoleon from the south. An Austrian army, which was then operating in Venetia and Lombardy, menaced France from yet a fifth direction.

Against such overwhelming odds, Napoleon displayed through-

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon had made Saxony a "kingdom," and its king the grand-duke of Warsaw. It was quite natural, therefore, that the king of Saxony, with Polish nationalists, should stick to Napoleon to the end.

out the desperate months of February and March, 1814, the same remarkable genius, the same indomitable will, as had characterized his earliest campaigns. If anything, his resourcefulness and his rapidity of attack were even greater. Inflicting a setback on one invader, he would turn quickly and dash against a second. Such apprehension did his tiger-like assaults excite among his opponents that as late as February he might have retained the French frontiers of 1792 if he had chosen to make peace. He would play the game to the bitter end. On 1 March, the four great powers—Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia—concluded the treaty of Chaumont, definitely cementing their alliance for a period of twenty years and mutually agreeing not to make terms without each other's consent nor to desist from war until their arch-enemy had been overthrown; each contracting party undertook to furnish 150,000 men, and Great Britain promised a special subsidy of five million pounds. The fate of Napoleon was at last settled.

**Cementing the Alliance against France and Napoleon: the Treaty of Chaumont**

To describe in any detail the brilliant campaign of 1814 lies outside our province. Suffice it to state that, after the most stubborn fighting, resistance was broken. Paris surrendered to the allies on 31 March, and thirteen days later Napoleon signed with the allied sovereigns the personal treaty of Fontainebleau, by which he abdicated his throne and renounced all rights to France for himself and his family, and, in return, was accorded full sovereignty of the island of Elba and an annual pension of two million francs for himself; the Italian duchy of Parma was conferred upon the Empress Maria Louisa, and pensions of two and a half million francs were promised for members of Napoleon's family. Another seven days and Napoleon bade his Old Guard an affecting farewell and departed for Elba. In his diminutive island empire, hard by the shore of Tuscany and within sight of his native Corsica, Napoleon Bonaparte lived ten months, introducing such vigor into the administration as the island had never experienced, and all the while pondering many things.

**The Overthrow of Napoleon and His Exile to Elba**

Meanwhile, in France, order was emerging from chaos. In 1793 European sovereigns had banded together to invade France, to restore the absolute divine-right monarchy of the Bourbons and the traditional rights of the privileged classes, and to stamp



out the troublesome principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The most noteworthy significance of the era of Napoleon was the fact that now in 1814 the monarchs of Europe, at last in possession of France, had no serious thought of restoring social or political conditions just as they had been prior to the Revolution. Their major quarrel was not with principles but with a man. The Tsar Alexander was an impressionable prince, familiar with phrases of the revolutionary philosophy, and anxious to pose as the arbiter of Europe. Talleyrand, the man of the hour among Frenchmen, who himself had played no mean rôle throughout the Revolution and under Napoleon, combined with a desire to preserve the frontiers of his country a firm conviction that the mass of his countrymen would not revert to absolute monarchy. Between Talleyrand and Alexander it was arranged, with the approval of the great powers, that in the name of "legitimacy" the Bourbons should be restored to the throne of France, but with the understanding that they should fully recognize and confirm the chief social and political reforms of the Revolution. It was likewise arranged by the treaty of Paris (30 May, 1814), also in the name of "legitimacy," that France should regain the limits of 1792 and should pay no indemnity. "Legitimacy" was a brilliant discovery of Talleyrand. It justified the preservation of France in the face of crushing defeat, and, if it restored the Bourbons, it did so as limited, not as absolute, monarchs.

Louis XVI's "legitimate" heir was his brother, the count of Provence,<sup>1</sup> a cynical, prosaic, and very stout old gentleman who had been quietly residing in an English country-house, and who now made a solemn, if somewhat unimpressive, state entry into Paris. The new king kept what forms of the old régime he could. He assumed the title of Louis XVIII, "king of France by the grace of God." He reckoned his reign from the death of the dauphin ("Louis XVII") in the year 1795. He replaced the revolutionary tricolor by the lilled white flag of his family. Out of the fullness of his divinely bestowed royal authority he granted a "charter" to the French people. But Louis XVIII was neither so foolish nor so principled as to insist upon the substance of Bourbon autocracy. The very

**Louis XVIII and the Charter of 1814**

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 616.

charter, which he "graciously" promulgated, confirmed the revolutionary liberties of the individual and established a constitutional form of limited monarchy for France. It was obvious that the gouty old man had no desire to risk his head or to embark again upon his travels.

The same month that witnessed the unbecoming straddle of this French Bourbon between radicalism and reaction, beheld the restoration of another Bourbon in the person of Ferdinand VII to the throne of Spain, and the return of Pope Pius VII, amid the enthusiastic shouts of the Romans, to the ancient see upon the Tiber. About the same time Piedmont and Savoy were restored to Victor Emmanuel I, king of Sardinia. Europe was rapidly assuming a more normal appearance. To settle the outstanding territorial questions which the overthrow of Napoleon had raised, a congress of rulers and diplomats met at Vienna in the autumn of 1814.<sup>1</sup>

Within a few months the unusual calm was rudely broken by the sudden reappearance of Napoleon Bonaparte upon the European stage. It was hardly to be expected that he for whom the whole Continent had been too small would be content in tiny Elba. He nursed grievances, too. He could get no payment of the revenue secured him by the treaty of Fontainebleau; his letters to his wife and little son were intercepted and unanswered; he was treated as an outcast. He became aware of a situation both in France and at Vienna highly favorable to his own ambition. As he foresaw, the shrinkage of the great empire into the realm of old France filled many patriotic Frenchmen with disgust, a feeling fed every day by stories of the presumption of returning émigrés and of the tactless way in which the Bourbon princes treated veterans of the *Grande Armée*. Napoleon in time felt certain that he could count once more upon the loyalty of the French nation. That he would not be obliged to encounter again the combined forces of the European powers he inferred from his knowledge of the ever-recurring jealousies among them and from the fact that even then Russia and Prussia on one side were quarrelling with Austria and Great Britain on the other over the fate of Poland and Saxony. If some fighting were necessary, the return of French prisoners from Russia, Germany, Great Britain, and Spain would

Other Restorations  
in Europe

Napoleon's  
Return  
from Elba

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 722-729.

supply him with an army far larger than that with which he had fought the brilliant campaign of 1814.

On 26 February, 1815, Napoleon slipped away from Elba with some 700 men, and, managing to elude the British guardships, disembarked at Cannes on 1 March and advanced northward. Troops sent out to arrest the arch-rebel were no proof against the familiar uniform and cocked hat; they threw their own hats in the air amid ringing shouts of *vive l'empereur*. Everywhere the adventurer received a hearty welcome, which attested at once the unpopularity of the Bourbons and the singular attractiveness of his own personality. The French people, being but human, put emotion in the place of reason. Without firing a shot in his defense, Napoleon's bodyguard swelled until it became an army. Marshal Ney, the "bravest of the brave," who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Bourbons and had promised Louis XVIII that he would bring Napoleon to Paris in an iron cage, deserted to him with 6,000 men, and on 20 March the emperor jauntily entered the capital. Louis XVIII, who had assured his parliament that he would die in defense of his throne, was already jogging over the Belgian frontier.

Napoleon clinched his hold upon the French people by means of an astute manifesto which he promptly published. "He had come," he declared, "to save France from the outrages of the returning nobles; to secure to the peasant the possession of his land; to uphold the rights won in 1789 against a minority which sought to reëstablish the privileges of caste and the feudal burdens of the last century; France had made trial of the Bourbons; it had done well to do so, but the experiment had failed; the Bourbon monarchy had proved incapable of detaching itself from its worst supports, the priests and nobles; only the dynasty which owed its throne to the Revolution could maintain the social work of the Revolution. . . . He renounced war and conquest . . . he would govern henceforth as a constitutional sovereign and seek to bequeath a constitutional crown to his son."

The emperor was as wrong in his judgment of what Europe would do as he was right concerning the attitude of France. The statesmen who had been haggling about treaty stipulations at Vienna speedily forgot all their differences in the face of the common danger. The four great powers solemnly renewed their

treaty of alliance, and with alacrity all joined in signing a declaration. "In violating the convention which established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte has destroyed the only legal title to his existence. By reappearing in France with projects of disorder and destruction, he has cut himself off from the protection of the law, and has shown in the face of all the world that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. Accordingly the Powers declare that Napoleon Bonaparte is excluded from civil and social relations, and as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world he has incurred public vengeance. . . ."

**Napoleon  
Outlawed  
by the  
Allies**

In order to give force to their threats, the allies rushed troops toward France. Wellington assembled an army of more than 100,000 British, Dutch, and Germans, and planned to coöperate with 116,000 Prussians under Blücher near Brussels. The Austrian army under Schwarzenberg neared the Rhine. Russia and Germany were alive with marching columns. To oppose these forces Napoleon raised a field army of 180,000 men, and on 12 June, 1815, quitted Paris for the Belgian frontier. His plan was to separate his opponents and to overcome them singly. It would be a repetition of the campaign of 1814, though on a larger scale.

**The Last  
of the  
Napole-  
onic Wars**

How Napoleon passed the border and forced the outposts of the enemy back to Waterloo; how there, on 18 June, he fought the final great battle of his remarkable career; how his troops were mowed down by the fearful fire of his adversaries and how even his famous Old Guard rallied gloriously but ineffectually to their last charge; how the defeat administered by Wellington was turned at the close of the day into a mad rout through the arrival of Blücher's forces: all these matters are commonplaces in the most elementary histories of military science. It has long been customary to cite the battle of Waterloo as one of the world's decisive battles. In a sense this is just, but it should be borne in mind that, in view of the firm united determination of all Europe, there was no ultimate chance for Napoleon. If he had defeated Wellington, he would still have had to deal with Blücher. If he had then defeated the Prussians, he would have to turn suddenly against Schwarzenberg and the Austrians. By that time Wellington would have been sufficiently reënforced to resume the offensive, and the war would have gone

**The Battle  
of  
Waterloo**

on inevitably to but a single grim conclusion. The allies could put almost limitless numbers in the field; Napoleon was at the end of his resources. For the conservation of human life, it was fortunate that Napoleon was overwhelmed at Waterloo and that the first battle of the campaign of 1815 was also its last. Waterloo added military prestige to the naval preëminence which Great Britain already enjoyed, and finally established the reputation of Wellington as the greatest general of his age next only to Napoleon.<sup>1</sup>

On 21 June, Napoleon arrived in Paris, defeated and dejected. That very day the parliament, on the motion of Lafayette, declared itself in permanent session and took over all functions of government. The following day Napoleon abdicated the second time in favor of his son, and the provisional government of France, under the skillful trimming of the clever Fouché, reopened negotiations with the Bourbons. On 7 July the allies reoccupied Paris, bringing the flustered old Louis XVIII "in their baggage-train." The Bourbons, thus unheroically restored, were destined for fifteen years to maintain in peace their compromise between radicalism and reaction.

On 15 July, the day following the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, Napoleon, who had gone to Rochefort on the French coast, with some vague idea of taking refuge in America, delivered himself over to the commander of a British warship which was lying in the harbor. For us who live over a century after the stirring events whose narrative has filled this chapter, it is easy to perceive that the British government might safely have extended hospitality to their famous captive and might have granted him an asylum in England. He was finally discredited in the eyes not only of the European despots but also of the vast majority of the French people. No matter how much he might burn with the flame of his old ambition, he could never again be in a position to endanger the safety or prosperity of Great Britain. But in 1815 Englishmen felt differently,

<sup>1</sup> An interesting side issue of the Waterloo campaign was the fate of Joachim Murat. The wily king of Naples, distrustful of the allies' guaranties, threw in his lot with his brother-in-law. His forces were speedily put to rout by the Austrians and he himself fled to France and later to Corsica, and was ultimately captured and shot. His action enabled still another Bourbon, the despicable Ferdinand I, to recover the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

and naturally so. To them Napoleon had been for years a more troublesome and dangerous enemy than a Philip II or a Louis XIV. By them he was deemed the unregenerate child of the evil spirit. And "General Bonaparte," as the British authorities persisted in calling him, was not suffered to touch foot upon the sacred soil of England, but was despatched on another British warship to the rocky island of St. Helena in the south Atlantic.

On St. Helena Napoleon lived five and a half years. He was allowed considerable freedom of movement and the society of a group of close personal friends. He spent his time walking on the lonely island or in quarrelling with his suspicious strait-laced English jailer, Sir Hudson Lowe, or in writing treatises on history and war and dictating memoirs to his companions. These memoirs, which were subsequently published, were subtly compounded of truth and falsehood. They represented Napoleon Bonaparte in the light of a true son and heir of the Revolution, who had been raised by the will of the French people to great power in order that he might substantiate the revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. According to the emperor, he had always been the friend of peace and of oppressed nationalities, the author of blessings which had flowed uninterruptedly upon his people until he had been thwarted by the machinations of the British and the sheer brute force of the European despots. Napoleon shrewdly foresaw the increase of popular discontent with the repressive measures which the reactionary sovereigns and statesmen of Europe were almost certain to inaugurate, and in the resulting upheaval he thought he could perceive an opportunity for his own son to build anew an empire of the French. It could hardly have been blind chance that caused Napoleon to insert in his will the pious request that he "be buried on the banks of the Seine in the midst of the French people whom he so dearly loved." On 5 May, 1821, the greatest adventurer of modern times died on the island of St. Helena.

Napoleon  
on St.  
Helena

Already the history of the emperor was becoming the "Napoleonic legend." The more his memory was revered as the noble martyr of St. Helena, the more truth withdrew into the background and fiction stepped into the limelight. His holocausts of human life were forgotten; only the glory, the unconquerable prowess of his arms, was remembered. French cottages were

adorned with cheap likenesses of the little corporal's features; quaint, endearing nicknames for their hero were on villagers' lips; and around hearth and campfire were related apocryphal anecdotes of his exploits at Lodi, at Austerlitz, and at Wagram. From a selfish despot Napoleon was returning to his mightier, if humbler, position as a child of the people. Thus the last years at St. Helena were far from fruitless. They proved once more that the pen is mightier than the sword,—for one day, not by feats of arms, but by the power of the Napoleonic legend, another Bonaparte was to be seated upon an imperial throne in France.

**Rise of the  
Napoleonic  
Legend**

## 5. THE SPREAD OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Turning now from the story of Napoleon's life to an appraisal of the whole era which fittingly bears his name, we must emphasize its revolutionary importance, not only within France, but also throughout a large part of Europe. Within France, as we have seen, it served to consolidate many of the achievements of the preceding era of National Assembly and National Convention and to enroot them in the hearts and minds of the majority of Frenchmen so tenaciously that in 1814 neither the foreign conquerors nor the restored Bourbons thought seriously of attempting to do what Louis XVI and foreign despots had planned to do in 1792. Thanks to the events of the Napoleonic era, the political and social régime which Louis XVIII inherited in 1814 was radically and irretrievably different from that over which his brother had presided at the beginning of 1789.

The new French régime which issued from the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras was basically different from anything which Europe had ever known. By revolution and war in the sixteenth century the Dutch had won their national independence. By a series of revolutions in the seventeenth century the British had curbed the power of their monarchs, asserted the principle of popular sovereignty, and established the constitutional supremacy of a representative parliament. But France had now achieved all these things and much besides; her revolution had been nationalist, as well as national, and deeply social as well as superficially political. It was France, not Britain or Holland, which inaugu-

**The  
Novelty of  
the  
Régime  
Issuing  
from the  
French  
Revolution**

rated and maintained a system of government and society in harmony with the intellectual revolution of the eighteenth century: a centralized government, based on the doctrine of popular sovereignty, supported by national arms and national schools, inspired with national patriotism, capped by a parliament representing citizens rather than classes; and an even more significant individualist society, from which all special privileges were banished and in which all religions were tolerated. This was the system of government and society which France maintained with such vigor and devotion during the Napoleonic era that no restored Bourbon could subvert it. It was in France—and in Europe—to stay.

The “new régime” was in Europe to stay, not only because it was strong in France but also because, by the end of the Napoleonic era, it had become the fascinating goal of a host of revolutionaries outside of France. Thanks to events of the Napoleonic era, the Revolution which originally had been French was becoming European. To this consummation, several factors had contributed. In the first place, by means of the temporary territorial expansion of the French empire, the Netherlands, the Rhineland, and most of the Italian peninsula had been subjected to the direct sway of Paris and the immediate jurisdiction of the Code Napoléon. In these areas Dutchmen and Belgians, Germans and Italians had been accustomed to a centralized state and an individualist society, to equality and fraternity if not to liberty.

**The New  
Régime  
European  
as well as  
French  
by 1815**

Secondly, the construction of a string of dependent states had involved revolutionary changes in southern and central Germany, in Naples, and in Spain. In these countries, feudalism and serfdom were abolished, religious toleration was guaranteed, and ideas of democratic government and social equality were implanted; and though the dependence of such countries on Napoleonic France was brief, it was long enough to communicate to their populations a taste for the new régime.

Thirdly, the meteoric flash of Napoleon's power had awed even his most consistent enemies; and the more thoughtful among his adversaries, such as the Baron vom Stein in Prussia, had paid him the high tribute of imitation. The social and political “regeneration” of Prussia, which we have already discussed, (and, to a lesser extent, that of Austria,) represented a conscious attempt of the old divine-right monarchies of central Europe



to win the favor and support of their peoples by adopting at least some of the reforms which the French revolutionaries had initiated and which Napoleon had consolidated and propagated.

But of all the lessons which Europe learned from France during the Napoleonic era, the most impressive was nationalism. French-

**The  
Spread of  
the New  
National-  
ism**

men who had paved the way for Napoleon's amazing career and Frenchmen who militantly bore his banners at Lodi and Marengo, at Austerlitz and Jena, at Madrid and Lisbon, at Friedland and Moscow, were effective messengers of the novel nationalist gospel. They were fanatical apostles of the idea of the *nation*—the nation one and indivisible, the nation as regenerator of human society, the nation above any class or any religion, the nation with a "mission."

The nationalist gospel of French revolutionaries and French soldiers evoked a fairly quick response throughout Europe. In part, the response was the result of independent agitation of intellectuals in various countries, who, like the French revolutionaries themselves, had been given a nationalist turn of mind by their reading of eighteenth-century philosophy and literature. In part, it was the result of sympathy with the French and imitation of them. In greatest part, no doubt, it was the result of growing antipathy to the "bumptiousness" of the French and the "despotism" of Napoleon.

All these forces were certainly evidenced in the rise of German nationalism. Herder, one of the most conspicuous heralds of

**In  
Germany** German nationalism, did his chief work on the eve of the French Revolution and in the spirit of a Montesquieu and a Rousseau.<sup>1</sup> Fichte and Humboldt and certain other German nationalist philosophers and scholars began as admirers of the French Revolution and were distinctly tainted with Jacobism. Stein, too, was at first a sympathetic observer of nationalist experiments in France. But, as we have already observed, it was not until Napoleon's chronically high-handed interference in Germany had aroused widespread resentment and hostility that the German masses (and princes) finally rallied against the "despot" and enthusiastically waged in 1813-1814 the nationalist "War of Liberation."

It was similar with Spain and Italy. Spaniards had long had some consciousness of common nationality and proud traditions

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 534-535, 555, 571.

of an independent state and a national literature. Now, they might quarrel among themselves concerning the behavior of their traditional sovereigns and the merit of the "reforms" which Joseph Bonaparte brought them, but they were

In Spain

one in insisting upon the right of national self-determination. Italians were not yet so unanimous; since the days of the ancient Roman Empire, they had never had any political unity, and consciousness of common nationality was still obscured by

In Italy

differences and jealousies among Venetians, Lombards, Piedmontese, Tuscans, Neapolitans, and Sicilians. Yet the fame of Napoleon, a man of Italian blood, the temporary establishment of the "kingdom of Italy," the title of "king of Rome" conferred upon the infant heir to Napoleon's fortunes, and especially the revolutionary changes effected in government and society throughout the peninsula by French example or French compulsion shook many Italians out of time-honored habits of thought and infused them with nationalist ideals. At least, the foremost literary lights of Italy during this period—Alfieri and Foscolo—were pronouncedly nationalist. Alfieri, the greatest dramatist of the time, reacting against the "despotism" of the French, published a strongly nationalist book—the *Misogallo* (1799)—in which he not only proclaimed the superiority of the Italians over the French in art, manners, and morals but also urged his countrymen to unite in national hatred of the French. On the other hand, Foscolo, the chief lyric poet of the time, addressed an ode to Napoleon as the "liberator of Italy" and in a famous volume of poems (1807) invoked the memory of Italy's past greatness as inspiration for Italian nationalism in the future.<sup>1</sup> Foscolo and Alfieri were influential pioneers of the nationalist movement in Italy, and so too were the *Carbonari* ("charcoal burners"), members of a network of secret societies which sprang up in southern Italy during the reign of Joachim Murat (1808–1815), which comprised army officers, landlords, government officials, peasants, and even some priests, and which aimed at freeing Italy from foreign rule and obtaining constitutional liberties.

Among peoples more geographically remote from France, na-

<sup>1</sup> Foscolo, exiled from Italy after the downfall of Napoleon, took refuge in England and died at London in 1827. In 1871, after the political unification of Italy, his remains were brought back to Florence and interred, beside those of Alfieri (who had died in 1803), in the church of Santa Croce.

tionalism was stimulated during the Napoleonic era. This was particularly true of the Polish nation. Here, there was a basis for

**Nationalism among the Poles** nationalism, and also for a marked sympathy for France, in the sorry events which had transpired in

Poland at the very time when the French were successfully revolutionizing their government and society. It will be recalled that, following the first partition of Poland by Russia, Prussia, and Austria in 1772,<sup>1</sup> and in accordance with the general political philosophy of the eighteenth century and the specific advice of Rousseau, Polish patriots had undertaken to reform the institutions of their country. The outcome was a veritable revolution in Poland in 1791, and the adoption of a constitution not unlike that which emanated in the same year from the National Assembly at Paris: what remained of the old Polish state was converted into an hereditary limited monarchy, with biennial parliaments and ministerial responsibility; the "liberum veto" was abolished; class distinctions were swept away; serfdom was mitigated; and absolute religious toleration was sanctioned.

At the same time, there appeared on the scene a valiant champion of the new Polish liberalism and nationalism in the person of Tadeusz Kosciuszko (1746-1817). Kosciuszko had received a military training in France and like his contemporary Lafayette had served with distinction in the War of American Independence. Now in 1791 he was back in Poland, ready to battle in defense of the new order.

Not all Poles, however, any more than all Frenchmen, took kindly to the new order as outlined in the revolutionary constitution of 1791. Just as French émigrés appealed to the Habsburg emperor, so some Polish nobles applied to the Russian tsarina to help them recover the privileges which they had lost and to restore the old régime. To such a call, Catherine the Great was not deaf; nor were her Prussian and Austrian confederates in the First Partition indifferent. Austria and Prussia, it is true, were then too much engaged with France to intervene decisively in Poland, but Catherine's hands were free, and against the Polish Revolution she promptly mobilized the military might of Russia. In vain Kosciuszko defended the new constitution. In 1793 it was overthrown and Poland was subjected to a second partition by Russia and Prussia. Then Kosciuszko assumed a dictatorship

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 344-345, 381.

# THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND 1772 - 1815

**POLAND  
before 1772**



**After  
1772**



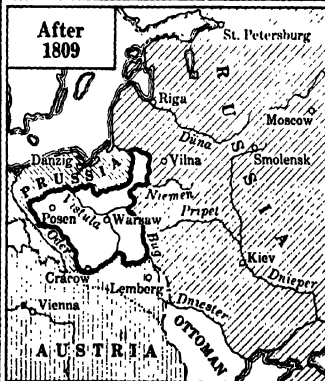
**After  
1793**



**After  
1795**



**After  
1809**



**After  
1815**



and heroically led a desperate national revolt; he was overwhelmed, wounded, and taken prisoner, and in 1795 Russia, Prussia, and Austria completed their partitioning work and erased Poland from the political map of Europe. Kosciuszko, released from his Russian prison in 1796, spent the next two years in America and the remainder of his life in France. To the last he was a nationalist and a liberal, but his distrust of Napoleon kept him from any active participation in the French emperor's projects concerning Poland.

Poland might be erased from the political map of Europe, but the Polish people survived and nationalism grew among them.

**Poniatowski and the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw**

This fact Napoleon recognized and took into account when he restored a part of Poland as the grand-duchy of Warsaw. The grand-duchy supplied money and men for Napoleon's far-flung campaigns, and its patriotic devotion was markedly exemplified by its great war-minister and general, Prince Joseph Poniatowski (1763-1813), a nephew of the last Polish king. Poniatowski had fought brilliantly under Kosciuszko in the 1790's; in 1812 he commanded the Polish forces which accompanied Napoleon's Grand Army in its tragic invasion of Russia, and the following year he died bravely in battle at the head of his troops.

Another Polish patriot of the era was Prince Adam Czartoryski (1770-1861). Of a famous and wealthy noble family, he had been tutored in his youth by the French economist and philosopher, Dupont de Nemours,<sup>1</sup> and had fought with Kosciuszko and Poniatowski in the nationalist struggle of 1791-1794. Sojourning for a time at St. Petersburg, he formed an intimate friendship with

**Czartoryski and the Tsar's National Kingdom of Poland**

the Tsar Alexander I, who, like himself, had been tutored by French philosophers of the "enlightenment" and who at least pretended, in a rather romantic manner, to cherish principles of liberty and nationalism.

At length, when the great clash came between Russia and Napoleon, Czartoryski obtained from the tsar a solemn promise that, at the conclusion of peace, Russian Poland would be definitely reestablished as a national and constitutional monarchy. Throughout the warfare of 1813-1814, therefore, Polish hopes were buoyed up by the prospect of national restoration—through Poniatowski's policy, if Napoleon won, or through Czar-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 547, note.

toryski's project, if Russia won. As we know, Russia won; and in 1814 Alexander, with Czartoryski at his elbow, was trying to reconstruct a unified Poland of which the "enlightened" tsar should be the constitutional king.

Into the far north of Europe, the new nationalism penetrated. Already in 1788, on the eve of the French Revolution, the "enlightened" king of Sweden, Gustavus III,<sup>1</sup> had confirmed the "fundamental laws" of his grand-duchy of Finland, and now, in 1809, when Finland was conquered by Russia, the surge of patriotic feeling among the inhabitants of the grand-duchy—both Finns and Swedes—combined with the romantic benevolence of the Tsar Alexander to assure to Finland a privileged position within the Russian empire. Alexander reunited the part of Finland which Peter the Great had taken from Sweden in 1721 with the main part which he himself took in 1809; over the whole country the tsar was to be a constitutional grand-duke, governing with the aid of a national parliament of the four "orders" of nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasants and in accordance with Finnish law and custom. Despite these concessions and pledges on the part of the Tsar Alexander, the people of Finland disliked their enforced union with Russia and grew ever more anxious to assert and maintain all their traditional national liberties.

**National-  
ism in  
Finland**

With the same good intentions with which he was abetting nationalism in Finland and Poland, the Tsar Alexander planned for the Baltic provinces of his empire a social reform which provided the starting-point for the rise of nationalism among their inhabitants. His plan materialized, just after the downfall of Napoleon, in the abolition of serfdom in Estonia, Livonia, and Courland. The landlords of these provinces were mainly German, descendants of medieval German crusaders and colonists, but the peasants whom the reform benefited belonged to oppressed but indigenous nationalities: those in Estonia were Esths, a kindred folk to the Finns; those in Livonia and Courland were Letts, who spoke an old Aryan language. Eventually Esths were to aspire to an independent Estonia, and Letts to a free Latvia.

**National  
Peasant  
Reforms  
for Esths  
and Letts**

In the meantime, nationalism was appearing in Norway. This country had been united with Denmark in the middle ages, and

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 353.

in early modern times had come increasingly under Danish control and influence. Following the French Revolution, however, and attending Denmark's subservience to Napoleon, **Nationalism in Norway** revolutionary principles (including nationalism) permeated Norway. Under the leadership of a patriotic nobleman, Count Wedel-Jarlsberg, Norwegians obtained from Denmark a national administration in 1807 and a national university in 1811. Then, when the treaty of Kiel early in 1814 transferred the sovereignty of Norway to Sweden as compensation for the latter's surrender of Finland, Count Wedel-Jarlsberg and his fellow Norwegian patriots proclaimed the right of national self-determination. They convened a national assembly (the "storting"), which in May declared the independence of Norway, adopted a constitution similar to the French Constitution of 1791 and the Spanish Constitution of 1812, and elected a Danish prince to the kingship. At this point Marshal Bernadotte, the king-elect of Sweden, stepped in and negotiated a treaty with the storting whereby Norway was to remain "a free, independent, and indivisible kingdom" but was to depose its Danish prince and accept the Swedish king as its own king.

In Sweden, too, the old divine-right monarchy gave way to the new constitutionalism. Immediately after the disastrous war of 1808 with Russia, the Swedish parliament (or "riksdag"), which **Constitutional Changes in Sweden** had long been chiefly ornamental, took matters into its own hands. It deposed the incompetent King Gustavus IV, put his childless uncle on the throne as Charles XIII, and adopted a constitution which entrusted financial control to the riksdag and provided that the king should be advised by ministers responsible to it. Subsequently the riksdag designated one of Napoleon's marshals, General Bernadotte, as royal successor to Charles XIII, and Bernadotte, who proved himself more Swedish than French in national loyalty, thus became king of Sweden and Norway in 1818 and founded the dynasty which ever since has reigned in Sweden.

The era of Napoleon likewise had nationalist significance in southeastern Europe, within the Ottoman Empire. It should be recalled that the Ottoman Empire had been declining in power and prestige throughout the eighteenth century, partly because of internal weakness and partly because of external pressure. The decline continued. Internally, there was a succession of weak

sultans, seemingly quite unable to prevent their provincial governors, or pashas, from establishing semi-independent states and enriching themselves through oppression of the local peasantry.<sup>1</sup> Externally, there were special dangers arising from the empire's embroilment in the Napoleonic wars. Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 was directed primarily at England's trade with India, but it was conducted on Ottoman soil and it served, not only to arouse the interest of western Europe in things Egyptian,<sup>2</sup> but also to introduce new revolutionary ideas into the Near East. Then, too, the free hand which at Tilsit Napoleon accorded to Alexander in eastern Europe was employed for open warfare between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, dragging on from 1807 to 1812 and culminating in the treaty of Bucharest and the extension of the Russian frontier to the River Pruth. And as counterweight to French or Russian pressure against the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain used her naval power throughout the period to wring concessions from the sultan and to occupy strategic posts, such as the Ionian Islands.

**The Ottoman Empire in the Napoleonic Era**

In the troubled circumstances of the Ottoman Empire, the subject nationalities of its Balkan provinces assumed an importance which they had never previously possessed. The overwhelming majority of them were Christians, almost fanatically attached to the Greek Orthodox Church, and for centuries they had been illiterate and despised, oppressed and exploited. In language and nationality they differed among themselves: some were Greeks, some were Rumanians (speaking a Latin dialect), some were Yugoslavs ("southern Slavs"). But hitherto, devoted to Orthodox Christianity as against Islam and unable to read or write, they had thought little of national differences. Now, however, began a movement which was destined to awaken national consciousness among them and eventually to nationalize the Balkans—and the whole Ottoman Empire.

The movement began among Greek middle-class persons and Yugoslav peasants. It owed a good deal to revolutionary precept and practice from the West, especially from France, but it would hardly have reached memorable proportions had it not profited from the embarrassments of the Ottoman government during the Napoleonic era.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 377-378.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 735-736.



The Greeks occupied, on the whole, a superior position among the Christian subjects of the sultan. Many of them, it is true, were peasants of as lowly a standing as Yugoslavs or Rumanians, but many others were merchants and traders, controlling a large part of the industrial and commercial activity of the Ottoman Empire, and some enjoyed a practical monopoly of those offices in church and state to which Christians were eligible. In other words, there was an educated middle class among the Greeks. And it was among this educated middle class that a Greek national revival began.

One of the pioneers of the new Greek nationalism was Adamantios Korais (1748-1833). The son of a merchant of Smyrna, he spent his youth as his father's agent at Amsterdam in the Netherlands and then studied medicine at Montpellier in France. Thereby he became imbued with the "enlightened" philosophy of western Europe, and then, settling at Paris, he sympathetically witnessed nationalist achievements of the French revolutionaries and Napoleon. If nationalism was good for the French, Korais thought, it must be good for the Greeks, and for years he devoted himself to nationalist propaganda among his fellow countrymen. He urged them, by numerous books and epistles, to believe that they were true descendants of the ancient Hellenes and that they had a cultural mission to perform in the modern world. Incidentally, Korais took the spoken Greek language of his day, purified it of alien words, and made of it the literary language of modern Greece.

The cultural nationalism of Korais was reinforced by the political nationalism of another middle-class Greek, Constantine Rhigas (1760-1794). Rhigas was successively secretary to Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, the sultan's Greek governor of Wallachia (Rumania), and interpreter for the French consulate at Bucharest. In the latter capacity, he acquired a knowledge of French revolutionary principles and a flaming enthusiasm for them. He composed numerous patriotic verses, including a celebrated Greek version of the *Marseillaise*. He founded secret societies and clandestine newspapers to work for Greek independence. He was setting out to enlist aid in France for a Greek uprising when he was apprehended by the Austrian government, handed over to the Turks, and shot, an early "martyr" to the cause of Greek nationalism.

Rhigas and Korais secured followers. In 1814, in the Russian city of Odessa, was formally launched a revolutionary society, the so-called *Hetairia Philike*, which soon enrolled thousands of Greeks and which zealously undertook to establish a free and united Greece in the near future. This Greek society was contemporary with the Italian *Carbonari*. Both were reflections of the revolutionary and nationalist disturbances of the age.

Yugoslav Serbs in the Ottoman Empire were simultaneously moved to nationalist activity, as were their kinsfolk, the Croats and Slovenes of the Habsburg Empire. Among these latter, national sentiment was stirred by the French revolutionary wars and especially by Napoleon's creation of an "Illyrian" state (1809), embracing certain east-Adriatic provinces of Hungary and Austria which were peopled mainly by Croats and Slovenes. One of Napoleon's marshals, General Marmont, presided over "Illyria" in a most enlightened way. He introduced the Code Napoléon, equipped the country with public schools, built roads, and effected other improvements; and, in order to assure the loyalty of the natives, he encouraged them to employ the Yugoslav language, rather than Hungarian or German, for newspapers, books, and school-instruction, and to dwell on the memory of the distant times when they had been a free and independent nation.

Nationalism among the Yugoslavs

The Croats

Among the Serbs, national sentiment was stirred less by direct French example and tutelage than by native peasant leaders who were egged on by Russia to take advantage of Turkish oppression and weakness. One tiny Serb region in the western Balkans—the "Black Mountain," or Montenegro—had never been completely subjugated by the Turks, and its bishop (who was its prince) had been receiving annual subsidies from Russia since the time of Peter the Great. Now, during the Napoleonic era, the greatest of its princes, Peter Petrović, co-operated most loyally with the Russians against the Turks. Besides, a Turkish massacre in the Serb pashalik of Belgrade in 1804 served to precipitate a fairly widespread revolt of Serbs. The leader of this revolt was an extraordinary peasant, Karageorge (1766–1817), who, after tending pigs and cows in his youth, had acquired considerable military experience by serving as a volunteer in the Austrian army during its campaigns against the Ottoman Empire in 1788–1791. He was un-

The Serbs

Karageorge

lettered, but he possessed bravery and high intelligence. In 1805 Karageorge at the head of an oddly assorted peasant-army drove the Turkish pasha from Belgrade, proclaimed himself the sultan's prince and commander-in-chief for the whole pashalik, and summoned a Serb parliament (or "skupština"), which laid the foundations for an autonomous Serbia, with a national administration and a national system of schools. Like Peter of Montenegro, Karageorge of Serbia coöperated with the Russians in the war which they waged against the Ottoman Empire from 1807 to 1812, and by the resulting treaty of Bucharest (1812) the sultan, though enabled to reinstate a Turkish garrison in Serbia, was obliged to recognize Karageorge's régime and Russia's preponderant influence in Serbia. In the following year, the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Balkans for use against Napoleon permitted the sultan to reconquer Serbia and drive Karageorge into exile. But the spirit of nationalist revolution was already too deeply imbedded in the Serbs to be exorcised by Ottoman decrees or Ottoman arms. It awaited only a favorable opportunity to reassert itself.

From two important countries of Europe—the huge Russian Empire and the powerful British Isles—the principles of the French Revolution, or at any rate the social principles of the French Revolution, were pretty effectually excluded during the whole Napoleonic era. Neither of these countries was subdued by Napoleon's arms or administered by Napoleon's agents; both played decisive rôles in his overthrow. The mass of British thought themselves too progressive, and the mass of Russians were generally regarded as too backward, to appreciate the egalitarian gospel of the French.

The Tsar Alexander of Russia evinced curiously diverse qualities. He was as despotic and ambitious as any of his Romanov predecessors. His word was law within his extensive empire. His appetite for the conquest of all Finland and all Poland surpassed that of Catherine the Great. His eagerness to make Russia the foremost military power in the world was more threatening than the militarism of Peter the Great. At the same time, Alexander was "enlightened" and "romantic" and easily influenced. He had been tutored in his youth by French philosophers and always retained a sentimental regard for the French people, even for

The "Enlightened"  
Tsar  
Alexander  
of Russia

French "radicals." For a time he had been an admirer of Napoleon. Subsequently, becoming pietist in religion and romantic in general outlook, he had thought of himself as the chief of a vast European crusade in behalf of liberty and humanity. Then, with the overthrow of Napoleon, while Alexander was hobnobbing with Talleyrand and counselling Louis XVIII to accept for France the political and social reforms of the Revolution, the tsar was maturing plans for constitutional states for Finns and Poles and for the abolition of serfdom among Esths and Letts in his own dominions.

But the Tsar Alexander was only one Russian. The vast mass of his Russian subjects were illiterate, hard-working peasants, accustomed to medieval ways of living and seemingly quite unmoved by the modern hubbub beyond their horizon. Some of them, of course, served in the armies which their tsar despatched against Sweden or Turkey or France, but they served dumbly and with the one anxiety of getting back to the familiar life of their agricultural villages. They voiced no yearning for liberty, equality, or fraternity; they demanded no change. A few intellectuals and middle-class persons and a very few nobles in Russia were more observant of the new order and more impatient with the old; like the tsar, they played with liberal and nationalist ideas; some of them went farther than the tsar and advocated a forceful transformation of Russian government and society in accordance with the latest models of western Europe. The fact remains, however, that Russia was the one country on the continent of Europe in which the "old régime" continued to function in undiminished vigor after 1815. Russia, which had been "westernized" by Peter the Great early in the eighteenth century in imitation of Louis XIV's France, was not westernized in the nineteenth century in imitation of revolutionary France. Serfdom and large estates, privileges of nobility and clergy, an intolerant state church and an absence of public schools, arbitrary government at St. Petersburg and in the provinces, these remained as the legacy of pre-revolutionary Europe to the Russia of the nineteenth century.

General  
Russian  
Conserva-  
tism

In Great Britain, the era was marked by an intensification of nationalism, but of a nationalism which served the ends of the governing classes rather than those of the masses. It will be recalled that in the eighteenth century, though monarchy was

limited in Britain, parliament was aristocratic, not democratic; it was representative of landed nobles, country gentlemen, and some substantial towns-folk, rather than of the nation at large.<sup>1</sup> On the eve of the French Revolution, there had been in England, as in France, considerable "enlightened" opinion and agitation. There had been in England a fairly vigorous demand for parliamentary reform—for an enlargement of the electorate, a removal of religious disabilities, and a redistribution of seats—and also for various kinds of humane legislation. William Pitt, the Tory son of the earl of Chatham and prime minister after 1783, had vied with Charles James Fox, the Whig leader, in personal expressions of a desire for "reform."<sup>2</sup> But when Frenchmen proceeded with revolution, influential Englishmen grew timid about reform. Edmund Burke, who had sympathized with the American Revolution as a vindication of "British" principles, assailed the French Revolution as a subversion of those principles, and his arraignment of French "excesses," coupled with his eloquent praise of the existing "British Constitution," had an enormous influence on aristocratic Englishmen, including William Pitt.

Indeed Pitt, the spokesman of the House of Commons and prime minister of George III, soon took the lead in invoking traditional British patriotism against French novelties. He reminded his fellow countrymen that they owed unswerving fealty to a nation which, thanks to Divine Providence and to the enlightenment of its statesmen and the loyalty of its citizens, had grown steadily greater, more feared, and more respected, since the days of Good Queen Bess; a nation endowed with the most perfect government which the world had ever seen, a liberal, constitutional government, duly respectful of monarchy, aristocracy, and established religion; a nation in which liberty slowly broadened out from generation to generation and in which, since the "glorious" revolution of 1688, there was no need of further revolution; a nation which, through centuries of sturdy endeavor, had become the mistress of the seas and the custodian of "backward" peoples and which now bade fair to become the wealthiest nation in the whole world.

Britishers had long been patrician; a kind of traditional nationalism in Britain had antedated the revolutionary variety in

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 457-460.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 491-493.

France. Hence the appeals and reminders of Pitt and Burke bore fruit not only among the British upper classes but also among the British masses, and the war which England entered in 1793 against revolutionary France assumed, under Pitt's auspices, the character of a national crusade.

There was some domestic criticism of the teachings of Burke and some dissent from Pitt's policies. Outside of parliament, a handful of English "radicals," including Thomas Paine, Joseph Priestley, and, with certain qualifications, Jeremy Bentham, praised the French Revolution and questioned the righteousness of war, but they were denounced as unpatriotic and most of them were either exiled or clapped into prison by Pitt's nationalist government, which won additional popular support by its resolute "saving" of England from all radicals, whether foreign or domestic. Within parliament, Charles James Fox and some of his personal followers among the Whigs, while softening the expression of their pro-French sympathies and curbing their demand for reforms in England, were critical of Pitt and of the Tory conduct of the war, but Fox was known to be objectionable to George III and was increasingly distrusted by the "best patriots."

Some  
British  
Dissent  
from Pitt's  
Policies

British  
"Radi-  
cals"

Fox and  
the Whigs

Then, too, a considerable number of Irishmen took issue with Pitt and Burke and looked to the political and social principles of the French Revolution and to the success of French arms to help them redress their own grievances and establish the national independence of Ireland. To this end certain Catholics and Protestants banded themselves together under the name of "United Irishmen," among whom Wolfe Tone (1763-1798) and Thomas Addis Emmet (1764-1827), two Protestant lawyers, were the chief leaders; and in 1798 they precipitated an armed insurrection. The insurrection was suppressed by English troops, the leaders were executed or exiled,<sup>1</sup> and, taking advantage of ensuing reaction, Pitt prevailed upon the Irish parliament to accept (1800) the Act of Union, whereby Ireland lost all trace of national autonomy and her par-

Irish  
Revolu-  
tionaries

<sup>1</sup> Tone committed suicide just before he was to have been executed. Thomas Emmet, after a four-years' imprisonment, was exiled. He first proceeded to the Continent, where he negotiated with the French, and then, after the failure of the insurrection of 1803, he emigrated to the United States.

liament was merged with that at Westminster, which henceforth was the parliament of the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." Subsequently, in 1803, Robert Emmet, a younger brother of the "United Irishman," raised anew the standard of revolt in Ireland, but he was quickly overpowered, found guilty of treason, and hanged. Both the Emmets had conducted negotiations with Napoleon Bonaparte, and this fact, together with the general distrust of the Irish in Great Britain and the special fear which their insurrections engendered, served further to quicken British nationalism and British popular support of Pitt.

In the circumstances, British national energy could be, and was, mobilized by Pitt for the war which went on against France

**The British Crusade against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France** almost continually from 1793 to 1815. Pitt himself died early in 1806, worn out by worry and overwhelmed with grief over Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz. For a brief time in that year, Fox was prime minister, but Fox and his Whigs were unable or unwilling to effect either external peace or internal reform. On

Fox's death, the government reverted to Tory hands, and from 1807 onwards its dominant figure was Lord Castlereagh (1769-1822), an elegant and brilliant personage and a sterling British nationalist, trained under Pitt, clever in diplomacy, and thoroughly wedded to the social institutions of the old régime.

A final outcome of the Napoleonic wars was the apotheosis of British imperialism and British nationalism. The naval victories

**Intensification of British Nationalism** of Nelson at the Nile and at Trafalgar and the military exploits of Wellington in Spain and at Waterloo not only provided ample compensation for the reverses which Britain had suffered in the War of American

Independence. They also constituted a fitting climax to earlier exhibitions of British valor—the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the sixteenth century, the overcoming of Dutch rivalry in the seventeenth century, the successful maritime and colonial struggle with Bourbon France from 1689 to 1763.

Triumph brought to Britain national glory and to her commercial classes financial profit. For while she was "saving" herself

and Europe from the French, she was utilizing her naval superiority to wrest overseas colonies and trade from France and from any nation which might ally itself with France. From France she took Malta (1800), St. Lucia, Tobago (1803), the Ionian Islands (1809), and Mauritius (1810). From the Dutch Netherlands, whose dependence on the French was largely involuntary, she took Ceylon (1795), Guiana (1803), and South Africa (1806). From Denmark, she took Heligoland (1807). At the same time she was extending her sway in India, the Straits Settlements, and Australia<sup>1</sup> and her commerce with Spanish America.

**Expansion  
of the  
British  
Empire**

At the first Great Britain attacked Spanish trade and colonies on the ground that Spain was subservient to France, and with this justification she appropriated Trinidad (1797) and Honduras (1798) and sent raiding expeditions against Buenos Aires and Montevideo (1806-1807). Subsequently, Britain's coöperation with Spain in the Peninsular War against Napoleon precluded hostile British incursions into Spanish colonies, but it worked in another way to British economic advantage. The Spanish American colonies—Mexico, Central America, and the greater part of South America—were thrown into grave administrative perplexities by the conflict of authority in the mother-country between the two Bourbon kings, Charles IV and Ferdinand VII, and between King Joseph Bonaparte and the revolutionary juntas. The immediate result was that the colonists proceeded to disregard any authority in Spain and, despite legal prohibitions, to open their ports to non-Spanish shipping, which was usually British. Thus it happened that by 1814, when Ferdinand VII was definitely seated on the throne of Spain, his subjects in the New World, while professing allegiance to him, were willing to fight him, if necessary, to preserve their economic independence. The ensuing disruption of the Spanish colonial empire was a consequence of developments during the Napoleonic era, and, next to the colonists, the British commercial classes were the chief beneficiaries.

**Great  
Britain and  
Spanish  
America**

<sup>1</sup> On the extension of British sway in these areas, see above, pp. 417-418, 420-421.



In general, the new overseas possessions which Great Britain acquired during the era were intended either, as in the case of Malta, the Ionian Islands, South Africa, Mauritius, and Ceylon, to strengthen her hold on India, or, as in the other instances (except Heligoland), to develop her trade with Spanish America.

With all these successes and with the attendant heightening of patriotic pride, it is not surprising that Great Britain remained impervious to revolutionary principles during the Napoleonic period. Indeed, it is a most significant fact of modern times that the French Revolution, which produced immediate and direct consequences on the continent of Europe, had no appreciable effect on the British Isles, save perhaps to fortify the political and social institutions of the old régime.

**Reaction  
in Britain  
against  
Political  
or Social  
Reform**

No social revolution occurred in Britain. The traditional classes of nobles, clergy, country gentlemen, burgesses, artisans, and peasants remained, as did the traditional distinctions among them. The great aristocratic classes remained with extended estates and with undiminished honors and privileges; and if a great new class of industrial capitalists arose it was not in response to any French precept or in conscious furtherance of any social equality. There was no introduction of the "Rights of Man and of the Citizen" and no application of the Code Napoléon. There was only repugnance to the idea of equality, and Englishmen continued to accept with seeming satisfaction the different social lots to which their ancestors had severally predestined them.

No political revolution occurred in Britain. In fact the traditional aristocratic "constitution" continued without amendment. Perhaps a little more honor was paid to monarchy. George III was beloved because he was a patriot-king, admired because he possessed the supposedly national virtues of prejudice and stubbornness, and pitied because he suffered from spells of insanity. But supreme political power was still in the hands of parliament, and parliament remained an oligarchy of landlords, with a sprinkling of commercial magnates, and the majority of parliament (including, of course, the cabinet) was almost constantly Tory throughout the Napoleonic era.

To the British aristocracy, and especially to its Tory right wing, the advantage of contemporary developments redounded. Tory nobles, squires, and clergymen were most vocal in their

patriotism; Pitt and Nelson and Wellington and Castlereagh were Tories; it was Tories who conducted and won the greatest war in which England had ever been engaged. In the circumstances, what could be more natural than that the Tory party and the aristocratic parliament in which Tory landlords were entrenched should be acclaimed throughout the nation as the bulwarks of Britain's power and prestige? What more natural than that Tories should retain the direction of public affairs long after 1815? And what more natural than that they should use their commanding position to promote aristocratic interests?

**Height-  
ened  
Prestige of  
Nobility  
and Tory  
Party in  
Britain**

Accordingly, schemes of parliamentary "reform" were lightly put aside, and humanitarian legislation was indefinitely postponed.<sup>1</sup> Proposals for establishing a national system of education, advanced in 1807-1811 by a Quaker, Joseph Lancaster, and by an Anglican, Andrew Bell, were decisively rejected, and the movement for the removal of Catholic disabilities was halted. The press was censored, the right of habeas corpus was repeatedly suspended, and many other things were done to safeguard the principle of aristocracy and to sustain the existing régime of privilege in respect of religion, education, politics, and property.

The economic interests which the aristocratic British parliament promoted during the period were primarily those of the landlord and incidentally those of the commercial magnate. Commercial interests were represented in parliament not only by certain "commoners" who came from seaports and influential shipping families but also by a considerable number of landed nobles and gentlemen who had invested in commercial enterprise. Hence it is not surprising that parliament backed Pitt and other war ministers in combating

**Promotion  
of Com-  
mercial  
Interests**

\* The only important exception to this generalization was the abolition of British trade in negro slaves, which was enacted in 1806 during the brief ministry of Fox. It may here be noted that, despite the ultra-conservative attitude of parliament and the apparent unconcern of the country at large, certain English "radicals" continued to advocate schemes of parliamentary reform. For example, Jeremy Bentham in his *Catechism of Parliamentary Reform* (1809) urged annual elections, vote by ballot, and universal suffrage. Likewise William Cobbett (1763-1835), a pugacious self-taught peasant, after serving in the British army and making a name for himself as a jingo journalist, turned in 1806 against the whole "Pitt system" and conducted in the lively pages of his *Political Register* a campaign for radical social reform as well as for political democracy. Cobbett was jailed from 1810 to 1812.

Napoleon's "continental system," in extending British trade in India and Latin America, and in capturing strategic commercial posts from Spain and the Netherlands as well as from France. Such activities, while firing the British masses with patriotic ardor, were financially profitable to the parliamentary classes.

It was directly in respect of agriculture, however, that the overwhelming majority of the Houses of Lords and Commons could and did pursue special economic interests most devotedly.

**Promotion of Land-lord Interests** This majority, as we have said, was a majority of owners of landed estates; it included Whigs as well as Tories; and its most energetic members were exponents of the new capitalism in agriculture.<sup>1</sup> The result was a marked impetus to the process, already under way prior to 1793, of transforming English manors into capitalistic estates. In 1793 parliament created a governmental "board of agriculture," of which Arthur Young, the enthusiastic advocate of capitalistic agriculture and the "agrarian revolution," was made secretary. Thenceforth, Young was in an especially favorable position to give effect to his own ideas and to the wishes of the parliamentary landlords. Everything possible was done to increase the production of British farms and to divert the resulting profits from peasant to proprietor. On the one hand, the "corn laws"—the protective measures against the competition of foreign grain with English grain—were strengthened and rigidly enforced. On the other hand, the "enclosure acts" were multiplied,<sup>2</sup> enabling proprietors of estates to appropriate common lands and expropriate tenants and small farmers.

**Large Landed Estates in Britain Contrasted with Small Holdings in France** By means of these enclosure acts, parliamentary aristocrats wrought a change in British landowning diametrically opposite to that which revolutionary peasants had wrought in French landowning. While the French were breaking up large landed estates and establishing a numerous peasant proprietorship, the British were consolidating large landed estates and establishing a small aristocratic proprietorship. There is no doubt that tempo-

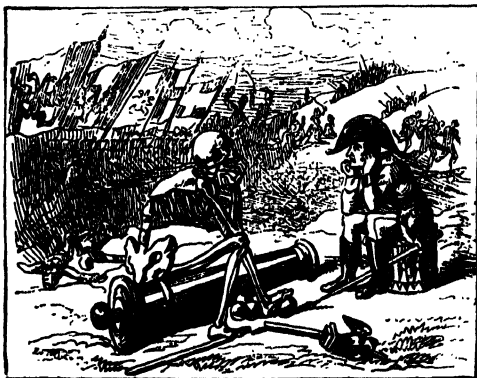
<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 465-469.

<sup>2</sup> In the twenty years from 1793 to 1815, almost two thousand enclosure acts were passed, affecting over two and a quarter million acres in England. In Scotland, according to the census of 1811, the 25,620 square miles of soil were owned by 7,800 proprietors. In Ireland, the land monopoly of the aristocracy was even more acute and its effects on the peasantry were even more depressing.

rarily the British policy was conducive to increased production and wealth; the large farm could be operated more "scientifically," more efficiently, and more economically. But there can also be no doubt that the British policy worked untold hardships for dispossessed peasants, that it converted thousands of independent farmers into dependent agricultural laborers and thousands of sturdy yeomen into slum-dwellers of the towns, and that in the long run it spelled disaster to British agriculture.

We must not leave Great Britain at this point, however. For outside of parliament and its selfish oligarchy of landlords, was occurring in Britain, during the Napoleonic era, an industrial revolution of the utmost significance to modern Europe and the modern world. It was based on the application of capitalism to manufacturing and it called into being the machine and the factory. Its gradual beginnings are clearly discernible before 1789, but its achievements did not become impressive until the era of Napoleon. In the era of Napoleon the quickening operation of spinning frames and power looms, of blast furnaces and steam engines, in a country on which the French emperor's army never trod, provided the financial sinews for the military efforts of Britain and her allies and thereby most truly worked his downfall. Eventually, also, it was to work the downfall of landed aristocracy in Britain as elsewhere, but that is a later story.

**Emer-  
gence  
of the  
Industrial  
Revolution  
in Britain**



## CHAPTER XIV

### THE ERA OF METTERNICH

#### I. METTERNICH AND DIVIDED EUROPE



PROCEEDING from the intellectual revolution of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, certain principles of society and government were applied in France during the French Revolution and communicated to the greater part of Europe during the era of Napoleon. The ensuing period— from 1815 to 1848— was disturbing and divisive. It was characterized, in most countries of Europe, by a sharp cleavage between “radicals” or “liberals,” on the one hand, and “conservatives” or “reactionaries,” on the other; between persons who strove to establish or extend the new social and political order, and persons who labored to preserve or restore the old régime.

Throughout this period the division between liberals and conservatives was usually social and, to a lesser degree, geographical. The kings and princes whose divine authority to rule was questioned; the nobles whose lands and privileges were confiscated or threatened with confiscation; the ecclesiastics whose consciences might be violated or activities abridged: these pillars of the old régime were naturally conservative. On the other hand, most of the bourgeoisie,—the professional classes, bankers, traders, manufacturers, and shopkeepers,—whose hostility to nobles and clergymen was sharpened by an ambition to obtain control of national policies and finance; the generality of the Continental universities—professors and students—together with other “intellectuals” drawn from many walks of life, who were becoming intensely nationalist; the workingman of the town and many a day-laborer in the fields, who felt that any change might add to the contents of his dinner-pail: these groups, restless under the old régime,

“Con-  
servative”  
Europe  
and  
“Liberal”  
Europe

were naturally liberal. The peasantry, who comprised the majority of the Continent's population, were swayed between the contending parties: still respectful of authority in state and church, sincerely religious, and innately sceptical of the fine phrases which were on liberal lips, they could at times and in places be reckoned conservative. But there was one important respect in which many peasants doggedly opposed reaction, and that was their attachment to the social achievements of the Revolution—they would be done with feudalism and serfdom, they would own their own lands. Geographically, it should be noted that on the Continent the farther west one went and the nearer to revolutionary France one came, the larger proportion of liberals one found, and that, conversely, the farther east one went and the more remote from France, the larger proportion of conservatives one encountered.

For several years after the overthrow of Napoleon the conservatives enjoyed throughout Europe an influence perhaps out of proportion to their actual numbers. There was a renewed loyalty on the part of patriots to the monarchs who had headed the great national uprisings against Napoleon. There was a marked revival of Christianity, and of special loyalty to the Catholic Church, whose supreme pontiff, the venerable Pius VII, in the face of insults and injuries from Napoleon, had set a noble example of Christian charity and fortitude. Above all, there was universal horror at the bloodshed and wretchedness which the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars had entailed. Thousands upon thousands of human beings, drawn from every nation and from every social class, had been butchered. Famine, pestilence, crime, and indescribable disease,—the attendant miseries of war,—had walked abroad in every land. Small wonder that prince, priest, and people united in extolling the blessings of peace! Even the liberal bourgeoisie perceived that the revival of Continental industry and trade was a concomitant of peace. With some justice Metternich could avow that "what the European peoples want is not liberty but peace." To prevent the recurrence of such insurrections as the Revolution had witnessed and of such wars as the career of Napoleon had involved,—in a word, to preserve domestic and foreign peace,—became the watchword and countersign of reactionary Europe.

Seeming  
Predominance  
of  
the  
Con-  
servatives.

Among the host of figures who crowd the European stage from 1815 to 1848, Prince Metternich stands out most prominently, not indeed in any such unique way as did Napoleon Bonaparte from 1799 to 1815, but still conspicuously enough to justify the use of his name for the era. A contrast more striking than that between Metternich and Napoleon can hardly be imagined.

Count Clemens Metternich was born at Coblenz on 15 May, 1773, of a very distinguished family which ranked high among the oldest nobility of the German Rhineland and which had furnished several electors to the great ecclesiastical sees of Trier and

Count  
Met-  
ternich

Cologne in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

His father had entered the diplomatic service of the Holy Roman Empire, and in the social setting of the

old régime and the aristocratic atmosphere of the punctilious Habsburg court young Clemens was reared. He was a sixteen-year-old student at the university of Strasbourg when the violence of the town mob gave him his first knowledge of, and distaste for, the French Revolution, a distaste which the seizure of his extensive family estates by Napoleon fourteen years later was not likely to counteract. Following his father's career, he soon attracted the favorable attention of the veteran Austrian chancellor, Prince Kaunitz,<sup>1</sup> whose granddaughter he married in 1795. This alliance not only brought him large estates in Austria, but made him heir to the prestige of the most famous diplomatist of the eighteenth century and introduced him into the most exclusive circles of Viennese society. Henceforth his rise was rapid. He served as representative of the Habsburg emperor successively at Dresden (1801), Berlin (1803), St. Petersburg (1805), and Paris (1806). Despite his country's embarrassment during the years immediately following the catastrophe of Austerlitz, and although he was now pitted against Talleyrand, in many ways as great a master of subtlety as himself, his remarkable good looks, his clever wit, and his charm of manner won him high favor at Napoleon's court, and gained for him an extraordinary diplomatic experience. Although he urged his sovereign to undertake the premature war of 1809, he was one of the first to counsel peace after the defeat of Wagram.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 341.

In 1809 Metternich became the actual head of the Austrian government, under the nominal rule of the well-intentioned but procrastinating Emperor Francis I, a position he was able to retain for nearly forty years. The statesman could not but be impressed with the need of reformation within his country, and he at once made a few proposals for national betterment. But his detestation of revolution from below made him fearful of reforms from above, and he preferred to bring honor and prestige to Austria by means of successful foreign diplomacy rather than through what always seemed to him the more uncertain means of internal changes in society and political organization.

Metternich  
as Chief  
Minister  
in Austria

In foreign affairs, Metternich's hatred of Napoleon was conditioned by his fear of Russian aggrandizement in the event of the French emperor's downfall. Accordingly, from 1810 to 1813 his policy was to play off Napoleon and Alexander against each other. He pressed forward with alacrity the negotiations for the marriage of an Austrian archduchess to the Corsican adventurer. He watched with glee the herculean combat of 1812 between Napoleon and the tsar, promising to the former the assistance of an army corps of 30,000 men, while assuring the latter that the Austrian forces would not be employed on the offensive. All the time he was actually keeping the Austrian army on a war footing and maintaining an armed neutrality, ready to throw his weight upon whichever side might finally be in a position to bestow the greater benefits upon Austria. Such was the success of his well-laid plans that the intervention of Austria was the decisive factor in the battle of the Nations (October, 1813) and in the campaign of 1814.<sup>1</sup> Napoleon's power collapsed and Austria became the dominant power among the victorious allies. Metternich was hailed as the most astute statesman of his age. He was deferred to by the Russian and Prussian monarchs. He was fêted by Talleyrand and Louis XVIII. He was given a fulsome welcome on a visit to England. He was named a magnate of the kingdom of Hungary and a count and hereditary prince of the Austrian Empire.

Metternich's Role  
in the  
Over-  
throw of  
Napoleon

Metternich was quite aware of the division in Europe between "revolutionaries" and "reactionaries." He was himself a "reactionary," and he was thoroughly convinced in 1814-1815 that

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 686-687.



a strong reactionary Austrian Empire was a most necessary bulwark against the divisive and disturbing forces of revolution.

**Metternich's Policy** It was Austria which had directed the first external attack against the French Revolution. It was Austria which had administered the final blow to the upstart Napoleon. It was Austria which henceforth should use its increased power and prestige to prevent similar disturbances and to lead Europe back into the unity and peace which had been rudely broken by revolutionary and Napoleonic France. From 1814 to 1848, therefore, Metternich labored to make reaction effective in Austria, and Austria influential in Europe.

## 2. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

Metternich's first care in 1814 was to restore, as far as practicable, the political and territorial *status quo* of 1792. The treaty of Chaumont (March, 1814), which he helped to negotiate, cemented the alliance of the four victorious great powers—Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain—for twenty years. In May, 1814, he signed the treaty of Paris, whereby the four great powers, together with Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, made formal peace with France, restored the French frontiers of 1792, and provided for the holding of a general congress of all the European powers in order to effect a general peace-settlement.

It was a recognition of the decisive part played by Austria and of the commanding personality of Metternich that Vienna was chosen as the scene of this international congress. And to Vienna repaired in the autumn of 1814 such an array of titled dignitaries and gold lace as Europe had never previously beheld in one place. Six sovereigns were there: Tsar Alexander of Russia, curiously mingling shrewdness with mysticism, ambition with compassion; Emperor Francis I of Austria, polite, cautious, and a bit stubborn; Frederick William III of Prussia, at once timid and obstinate, and quite fascinated by the Christian-like benevolence of the tsar; the king of Denmark; the king of Bavaria; the king of Württemberg. Great Britain was represented in turn by the sagacious Lord Castlereagh and the "iron" duke of Wellington. Alexander was attended by Capo d'Istria (a Greek), Baron vom Stein (the re-

**Assembling of European Statesmen at Vienna**

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 689.

generator of Prussia), Count Nesselrode (of German blood), and Prince Adam Czartoryski (the Pole). Frederick William of Prussia was assisted by Hardenberg and Humboldt. Sweden, Spain, Portugal, the princes of the Netherlands and of Sardinia, and the minor potentates of Germany were all represented. France was represented by the astute and insinuating Talleyrand—ex-abbé, ex-bishop, ex-revolutionary, ex-Napoleonist, now agent of the Bourbon Louis XVIII, and French patriot always. And last but not least, Metternich was there, discharging with classic grace and dignity the obligations which devolved upon him as host of the imposing congress. With the exception of the tsar, who indulged in fine though vague words in praise of liberalism, all the authoritative spokesmen seemed to be of one general mind with Metternich: they would make of the congress a pageant in celebration of the defeat of revolution and the triumph of reaction.

The congress was a pageant. In conformity with the best usages of polite eighteenth-century society, the divine-right monarchs and their aristocratic ministers and attendants at Vienna splendidly concealed their business behind a barrage of stately banquets, elegant concerts, and formal dances.

But the Congress of Vienna was really not a "congress" at all. Metternich had had the idea that the four victorious great powers—the signatories of the treaty of Chaumont—would decide all matters among themselves and then present their decisions for merely perfunctory ratification by the other powers in congress assembled. But Talleyrand, as subtle a master of diplomacy as Metternich, was resolved that France should not be excluded from the counsels of the great powers. At first, Talleyrand threatened to nullify the programme of the "Big Four" by invoking the treaty of Paris in favor of a full and free congress of all the powers, and for this threat he knew he had the backing of Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and the lesser powers. Before long, however, Talleyrand was able to take advantage of a cleavage among the "Big Four"; he played an important rôle in composing their differences, and in due course was admitted to their counsels. In the circumstances no "congress" was formally held. Informally, negotiations went on steadily at Vienna throughout the winter of 1814-1815. Sometimes the negotiations were among the "Big Four"; sometimes,

**Difficulty  
of Organ-  
izing the  
Congress  
of Vienna**

among the eight signatories of the treaty of Paris; sometimes, among the German princes by themselves; and most commonly toward the last, among the "Big Five"—Austria, Russia, Prussia, Great Britain, and France.

What caused the early cleavage among the "Big Four"—the thorniest problem with which the "congress" of Vienna was

confronted—was the question of the disposition of Poland and Saxony. In 1813, before the battle of the Nations, the Tsar Alexander had promised Prussia and Austria that he would assure them the destruction

of the Napoleonic grand-duchy of Warsaw and that they would share with him in the repartition of all Poland. After the battle, however, he changed his mind. Prompted by Czartoryski,<sup>1</sup> he decided that he wanted the whole of Poland for himself; in recognition of the principle of nationality he would reconstitute the old big state of Poland; he would grant it a liberal constitution; and he would utilize its resources for strengthening Russia's military and economic position. With this end in view, he proposed that Austria should be compensated by annexations in Italy, and Prussia by the absorption of all Saxony (whose king had been grand-duke of Warsaw and a most faithful ally of Napoleon); he overran Poland with Russian troops, and then presented his proposals to the "Big Four" at Vienna. King Frederick William III speedily assented: he liked to defer to the tsar anyway, and the bait of Saxony was most tempting. But Metternich, alarmed by the prospect of Russia's permanent intrusion into central Europe, was decidedly hostile, and Castlereagh, distrustful of Russia in general and of Alexander in particular, made common cause with Metternich. A deadlock ensued between Russia and Prussia, on one side, and Austria and Great Britain, on the other; and for a time war seemed imminent among the "Big Four." Eventually, Castlereagh, with Talleyrand's support, arranged a compromise. Prussia got part but not all of Saxony, and the tsar got the greater part of Poland, though Galicia was retained by Austria, and Posen and the "corridor" by Prussia. Thus the king of Saxony was punished and Poland was repartitioned, with the largest portion—so-called "Congress Poland"—going this time to the Russian tsar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 702-703.

<sup>2</sup> For the map of this partition, see above, p. 701.

As a result of these and other informal negotiations at Vienna, as well as of a considerable variety of special arrangements which had been made elsewhere before the congress, a "Final Act" was signed on 9 June, 1815, embodying what is commonly called the peace settlement of the Congress of Vienna.<sup>1</sup>

The 'Final Treaty

The general principle underlying the Viennese settlement was Metternich's. It was the restoration, so far as practicable, of the boundaries and reigning families of the several European countries as they had been prior to the outbreak of the French Revolution and the advent of Napoleon Bonaparte. It was consonant with the principle of "legitimacy" which Talleyrand was exploiting in order to save France from further territorial spoliation and to enable his vanquished country still to play an influential rôle in the counsels of Europe. In accordance with this principle of "legitimacy," the treaties of Vienna recognized the restoration of the Bourbons in Spain and in the Two Sicilies, of the house of Orange in Holland, of the house of Savoy in Sardinia and Piedmont, of the pope to his temporal possessions in central Italy, and of the various German princes whose territories had been included in the confederation of the Rhine. Likewise in the name of "legitimacy," Austria recovered the Tyrol and other lands of which she had been despoiled, and the loose Swiss confederation was restored under a guaranty of neutrality.

Metternich's "Restoration" and Talleyrand's "Legitimacy"

The principle of "legitimacy" was considerably compromised by the necessity of providing more or less arbitrary "compensations." In the course of the Napoleonic wars, Great Britain, as we have already seen, appropriated, along with certain French and Spanish trading posts, the important Dutch colonies of Ceylon, South Africa, and Guiana. These colonies were confirmed to Britain.<sup>2</sup>

Practical "Compensations"

To compensate the Dutch, and also to erect a strong state on the northern frontier of France, the southern (Austrian)

<sup>1</sup> The "Final Act" was signed only a few days before the battle of Waterloo. After the second overthrow of Napoleon, a second treaty of Paris, concluded in November, 1815, restricted the frontiers of France to those of 1791 and obliged her to restore the art-treasures which Napoleon had pilfered from other countries, to pay an indemnity of 700,000,000 francs, and to submit for a term of five years to foreign occupation of her chief fortresses.

<sup>2</sup> A part of Guiana was retained by the Dutch.

Netherlands were joined with the northern (Dutch) Netherlands, under the rule of the restored Dutch prince of Orange, now recognized as king of the United Netherlands, despite the fact that nearly two and a half centuries of political separation had augmented the economic and religious antipathies between the two regions.

To compensate Austria for the surrender of her claims on the southern Netherlands, she was given a commanding position in Italy. The territories of the historic republic of Venice (including the Illyrian provinces along the eastern coast of the Adriatic) and the duchy of Milan were transferred outright to the Habsburg Empire, and members of the Habsburg family were seated upon the thrones of the small central states of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena.

Sweden, as compensation for the cession of Finland to Russia and of Pomerania to Prussia, secured Norway from Denmark, whose protracted alliance with Napoleon seemed to merit a severe punishment.

Prussia's gains were especially significant. She recovered all the German territories of which Napoleon had despoiled her, and in addition she acquired Swedish Pomerania, two fifths of Saxony, the whole of Westphalia, and most of the Rhineland. These cessions were intended to make her a bulwark against France, but in the long run they did more. They provided her with mineral resources of the greatest economic importance during the ensuing century, and, in conjunction with her surrender of "Congress Poland" to Russia, they tended to transform her from a half-Slavic, thoroughly agricultural state into the leading industrial state of Germany.

As Prussia and the Netherlands were enlarged and strengthened on the northeastern and northern frontiers of France, so the Viennese settlement ratified the enlargement and strengthening of the kingdom of Sardinia on the southeastern frontier of France. To the kingdom of Sardinia, Savoy and Piedmont were restored, and Genoa was added.

In the territorial and constitutional settlement of Germany neither Austria nor Prussia found it advantageous to insist too rigorously upon "legitimacy." There was no thought of reviving the two-hundred-odd ecclesiastical states and petty principalities

**Extension  
of Prussia  
and Sar-  
dinia**

which had been suppressed in 1803. There was no serious effort to resurrect the Holy Roman Empire which had expired in 1806. There was certainly no establishment of a strongly knit national state. Baron vom Stein, it is true, proposed the unification of all Germany under the supremacy of a single power, but King Frederick William III displayed no ambition to assume the leadership, and Metternich had already promised the princes of south Germany that Austria would respect their sovereign rights. Instead of adopting a national policy, the governments of Prussia and Austria, as well as the princes of the smaller German states, were bent on safeguarding their respective interests against possible encroachment by others. The outcome of this particularist, or states-rights, feeling was the creation of the German "confederation," a loose organization of the remaining thirty-eight states, with a diet consisting of delegates of the reigning sovereigns, presided over by Austria. The members might not enter into alliance with a foreign power either against the confederation as a whole or against a fellow member. The confederation was placed nominally under the guaranty of all the European powers, but actually the attitude of the lesser German princes enabled Austria to dominate it from the outset.

The German Settlement

The German Confederation

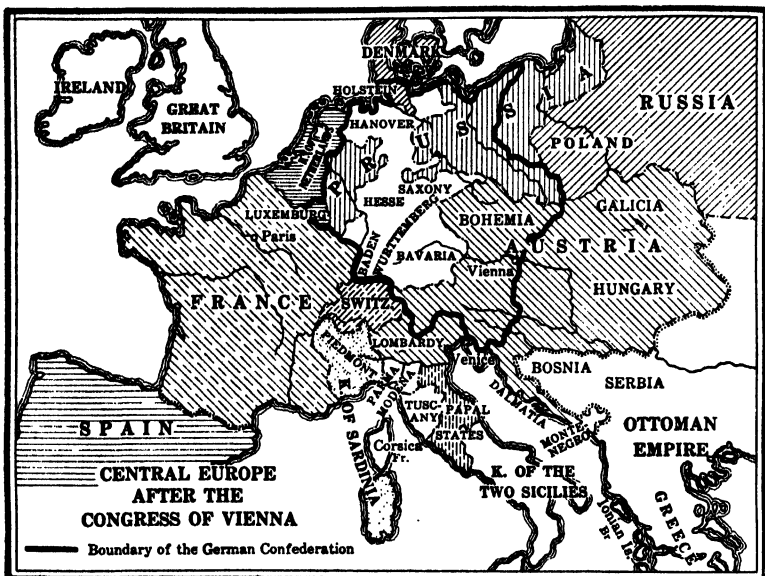
Thus did the foremost reactionaries of Europe refashion their map. Thus in the name of legitimacy was France "restored" and at the same time hemmed in by strengthened buffer states of the Netherlands, Prussia, and Sardinia. Thus, too, were the allies rewarded who had certainly overthrown Napoleon and had possibly stayed the Revolution. Thus, finally, under Metternich, did the leadership of Europe pass from revolutionary France to reactionary Austria.

Great indeed was the power and prestige of Austria at the close of the congress of Vienna. Metternich found himself in charge of the affairs of an enormous state. With the exception of the distant Belgian Netherlands, which had always been a source of weakness, the Habsburg dominions of 1763 were again intact, and to them had been added the richest and most prosperous districts of neighboring Italy. In fact, throughout the entire Italian peninsula, French influence was replaced by Austrian. Then, too, within the diet of the new Germanic confederation the Austrian emperor, backed by the weight

Renewed Prestige of Austria

of the Habsburg power beyond the borders of Germany, exercised a greater influence than any Holy Roman Emperor of modern times.

In all these territorial readjustments there was little that was permanent and much that was temporary. The union of Holland and Belgium lasted but fifteen years. The Italian and German



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settlements survived but fifty years, and the Polish barely a century. From our present standpoint, it is easy to see that the

#### Disregard of Nation- alism

most serious mistake of the congress of Vienna was its disregard of the principle of nationality. Howsoever the reactionary monarchs and diplomats might combat liberty and equality, they could ill afford to be oblivious of the nationalist movements that had recently stirred the French, the Poles, the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Italians, and the Germans. Yet, with the possible exception of the Tsar Alexander, they discounted the force of the new national patriotism, and, true to the international usages of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they proceeded once more to treat the European peoples as so many pawns in the game of dynastic aggrandizement.

The harking back of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna to the days of territorial rivalry among the dynastic states also prevented them from fulfilling the expectations which "liberal" public opinion had entertained of a wider and more fundamental scope for the labors of the congress. To these altruistic souls, the termination of a terrible period of revolution and warfare, of bloodshed and misery, and the rapid development of a sense of solidarity among all European princes and peoples seemed a particularly auspicious opportunity for effecting a permanent settlement of the balance of power, for the discovery of safeguards against its future disturbance, for general disarmament and assurance of international peace, for the suppression of the slave-trade and of piracy, and for the solution of social problems. Some of these subjects were broached at Vienna by the tsar, but their reception, though polite, was essentially chilly and most of them were suffered to drop quite out of sight. Alexander was himself too absorbed in the ambition of securing Poland for the Romanov dynasty. Largely through British representations, a declaration was appended to the final treaty to the effect that the slave-trade should be abolished, although each power was left free to fix such date as best suited its own convenience. Provisions respecting the free navigation of international rivers and regulating the rights of precedence among diplomats,—minor modifications in the recognized content of international law,—were also adopted. But the more serious questions of the future were not perceived or were left unheeded.

**Indifference to Liberalism**

**Abolition of the Slave-Trade**

Metternich was certainly desirous of rendering the Viennese settlement permanent. No one was more anxious or determined to maintain international peace than he. But he believed that the peace of Europe could best be maintained not by a central tribunal resting upon the consent of the European peoples, which would recognize the hateful principle of democracy and which might seriously interfere with the hegemony of Austria, but rather by the vigilant benevolence of allied sovereigns. The treaty of Paris of November, 1815, which formally renewed the treaty of Chaumont, bound the Quadruple Alliance—Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain—to the future convocation of diplomatic congresses

**Guarantying the Peace Settlement**

**The Quadruple Alliance: the Concert of Great Powers**



for the preservation of peace and of the *status quo*, and this "Concert of Europe" was sufficient for Metternich.

But the Tsar Alexander, in his dreamy, mystical way, went farther. While adhering loyally to the Quadruple Alliance as an effective means of maintaining the treaties of Vienna by physical force, he declared that the great Christian principles of peace, forbearance, and mutual good will, solemnly subscribed to by all the European monarchs, would supply the underlying spiritual motives for preserving modern society as well as boundaries and governments. Accordingly he induced the pious king of Prussia and the obliging emperor of Austria to join with him in forming (September, 1815) the celebrated Holy Alliance, by which the

**The Tsar  
Alexander  
and the  
Holy  
Alliance**

three sovereigns solemnly declared their "fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective states, and in their political relations with every other government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion, namely, the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the councils of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions and remedying their imperfections." They mutually promised to "remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and, considering each other as fellow countrymen, they will, on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance; and, regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them, in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect religion, peace, and justice." Their Majesties consequently recommended to their people, "with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that peace which arises from a good conscience, and which alone is durable, to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind."

Alexander was the only sovereign who took the Holy Alliance very seriously. Pope Pius VII upbraided the Catholic emperor of Austria for making a Christian declaration in union with a schismatic Russian and an heretical Protestant. A brilliant reactionary critic discovered in the document the "spirit of visionaries who opposed religiosity to religion." Emperor Francis I of

Austria frankly told Alexander that he did not know what it meant: "if it was a question of politics, he must refer it to his chancellor, if of religion, to his confessor." Metternich scornfully called it "verbiage," and Lord Castlereagh pronounced it "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense." Nevertheless, with the exception of the sultan, the pope, and the prince-regent of Great Britain, all the European rulers out of deference to the tsar and doubtless influenced in many instances by the religious revival of the time, signed the treaty and were duly admitted to the Holy Alliance. The rakish British prince-regent, in his letter announcing his inability to become a signatory, hypocritically expressed his "entire concurrence with the principles laid down by the august sovereigns" and stated that it would always be his endeavor to regulate his conduct "by their sacred maxims."

To the liberals of the nineteenth century the Holy Alliance became the embodiment of a diabolical conspiracy to stamp out democracy, nationalism, and social justice. But such an estimate of its significance is derived from a confusion of terms and is quite mistaken. The eventual failure of the Holy Alliance to ameliorate political and social conditions was due not so much to a want of sincerity in its author or to any criminal character in its purposes, as to the vagueness of its terms and to the failure of its signatories to give it more than lip service. It is a fact that the political ideas of the tsar underwent a profound change, but from the outset Alexander's Holy Alliance, with its idealism, was confused in the popular mind with the actual workings of the more worldly Quadruple Alliance under the masterful direction of Metternich.

So far we have dealt with the general European situation in 1815. We have seen that immediately after the overthrow of Napoleon the population of every country was roughly divisible on political and social questions into the two camps of "liberals" and "conservatives," that territorial settlements were made at Vienna by conservatives on the basis of "legitimacy" and "compensations," representing a more or less actual return to pre-revolutionary times, and, finally, that a powerful Quadruple Alliance existed for the maintenance of treaty engagements and the preservation of peace. Incidentally, we have witnessed the exaltation of Aus-

**The Seem-  
ing Tri-  
umph of  
Metter-  
nich's  
Policies**

tria paralleled by the rise of Metternich. From 1815 to 1848 this faithful chancellor of the Habsburg emperor was at once the conservative patriot of Austria and the reactionary genius of Europe. He employed the influence and might of Austria to dominate Europe; he sought to dominate Europe in order that the old régime might not be disturbed in Austria. Peace was always his goal in domestic and foreign affairs.

At first, peace was supposed to be most seriously menaced by international rivalry and the ambition of particular states. The British were especially fearful of a fresh outbreak by France. Metternich was especially distrustful of the ambitious posing of the Russian tsar and the very large army which he kept on a war footing in Poland. Consequently Metternich and Castle-

**The Con-  
cert of  
Europe  
and Inter-  
national  
Peace**

reagh coöperated to remove international misunderstandings and to accustom the great powers to doing things jointly as the "Concert of Europe." In 1818, for example, when France had discharged her obligations to the allies and had showed her continuing pa-

cific intent, an international congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle under the auspices of the Quadruple Alliance—Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain; the allied army of occupation was withdrawn from French territory, and France was practically admitted to the "Concert of Europe."<sup>1</sup>

After 1818, however, it was by no means the rivalries of rulers that endangered the peace of Europe, but rather the unrest of

**Repression  
of Liberal-  
ism by the  
Concert of  
Europe**

liberals who threatened their reactionary sovereigns with revolution or incited oppressed nationalities to insurrection. Hence the problem ceased to be that of restraining France or Russia from international war

and became one of suppressing liberalism and revolution within particular countries. On this question, Metternich and Castlereagh differed. Castlereagh was no friend of revolution or liberalism, but he thought that the general policing of Europe was beyond the scope and ability of the concert of great powers and contrary to British interests. Metternich, on the other hand, grew more and more convinced that the concert must preserve the *status quo*

<sup>1</sup> Thereafter, the Quadruple Alliance was usually referred to as the "Quintuple Alliance," and France participated in later international congresses on an equal footing with the other great powers.

within the several states of Europe as well as between them, by force if necessary. In this conviction, by 1820, he was supported by the Tsar Alexander, who, though formerly disposed to express sympathy with liberalism, had a large army at his command and was now most anxious to pose as the strong-fisted custodian of "law and order." In these circumstances, the subsequent international congresses of the great powers—at Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821), and Verona (1822)—were concerned with plans for suppressing revolutionary outbreaks and combating liberalism. The new principle underlying such plans was agreed to by Metternich, Alexander, and the king of Prussia, though dissented from by Great Britain, and was embodied in the protocol of Troppau (1820): "States which have undergone a change of government due to revolution, the results of which threaten other states, *ipso facto* cease to be members of the European Alliance and remain excluded from it until their situation gives guaranties for legal order and stability. . . . If, owing to such alterations, immediate danger threatens other states, the powers bind themselves, by peaceful means, or if need be by arms, to bring back the guilty State into the bosom of the Great Alliance."

The Inter-  
national  
Con-  
gresses

The Pro-  
tocol of  
Troppau

Under Metternich and Alexander it thus became the duty of the powers to stamp out revolution, even to the extent of intervention in the domestic concerns of a friendly state. For a time this duty was duly discharged. But before long, as we shall presently see, it became necessary, through force of circumstances, to refrain from the rigorous execution of the protocol of Troppau. Not, however, until the stirring events of the year 1848 did Metternich lose his own reactionary hold on Austria and central Europe.

Presently we shall take up in some detail the epidemic of political and social conflicts between "revolutionaries" and "reactionaries" which in many lands and for many years harassed Metternich and the "concert of Europe," in time destroying the concert and eventually driving Metternich from power. In the meantime, if we would understand the era which decisively marked the decline of conservative Europe and the rise of liberal Europe, we must give some attention to the thought and culture of the early nineteenth century.

## 3. RISE OF ROMANTICISM

We have explained in an earlier chapter how natural science revolutionized European thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while "classicism" was continuing to influence most European arts.<sup>1</sup> In the early part of the nineteenth century, the advance of natural science persisted, but its influence on thought was conditioned less by the cultural vogue of "classicism" than by that of "romanticism." The rise of romanticism was almost as significant for the nineteenth century as the classical renaissance had been for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

"Romanticism" had appeared in English literature in the eighteenth century and had almost immediately inspired notable works in French and German literature and likewise in the domain of painting.<sup>2</sup> It was not until after the Napoleonic period, however, that "romanticism" became fashionable and momentous.

"Classicism" remained relatively stable, at least in France, during the eras of the French Revolution and Napoleon. It was one impressive tradition of the old régime which the political and social upheaval did not seem to disturb. The French revolutionaries were strongly under classical influence. All of them had had a classical education, and they loved to think of themselves as modern exponents of the republican virtues of ancient Greece and Rome. They believed that the art which harmonized most

Abiding  
Influence  
of "Classicism" on  
the French  
Revolutionaries

perfectly with their own ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity was classical art—not the decorated, elegant rococo adaptation of classical art which had flourished at the court of Louis XV, but the plainer and more rugged art of the "pure classicism" which Winckelmann<sup>3</sup> had done much to establish and which was architecturally exemplified at Paris by the Panthéon and the Place de la Révolution (Place de la Concorde). Whatever the French revolutionaries did was provided with a setting of rugged classicism—the altars to *la patrie*, the Phrygian liberty caps, the Roman fasces, the images of fatherland or republic, the lay-out of the military parade ground (the "field of Mars"). Even the Jacobin vogue of long trousers, if no more "classical"

<sup>1</sup> See above, ch. xi.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 565-566, 570-572.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 534.

than the knee-breeches of the preceding age, was certainly more rugged; uglier, but plainer.

To the classical predilection of the French revolutionaries was soon added that of Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon, too, liked the styles of ancient Rome and Greece, and, as we have seen, he was perpetually thinking of himself as a modern Julius Cæsar or Alexander the Great. He addressed the Pyramids as a Greek conqueror might have done, and he called his only son "king of Rome." Besides, it was Napoleon who, by means of his spectacular incursion into Egypt, contributed decisively not only to the scientific study of Egyptian antiquities but also to the infusion of a dash of Egyptian art-forms in contemporary "classicism."

The  
"Classicism" of  
Napoleon,  
with Egyptian  
Embellishment

The result was that in France, during the Revolution and under Napoleon, the fine arts of architecture, sculpture, painting, and house-furnishing tended to be severely classical, with increasing indication of ancient Egyptian influence. With the classical republican emblems of the Jacobins, Napoleon combined, as his own devices, the Roman imperial eagle and the Egyptian scarab. The Vendôme Column and the arch of the Carrousel, which he erected at Paris to celebrate his military triumphs of 1805-1806, were modelled the one after the column of Trajan and the other after the arch of Severus. The church of the Madeleine in Paris was constructed, in the style of a Roman temple with a majestic Corinthian colonnade, as a Temple of Glory for the Grand Army; it was not put to Christian uses until the restoration of the Bourbons. For Josephine, Napoleon built the château of Malmaison, also in classical style; and the chairs and tables and other furniture with which his palaces were embellished were copied from classical models, with some regard for Egyptian peculiarities, and became fashionable as "Empire" furniture.

The "Empire"  
Style

Napoleon was served by several first-rate artists. A good deal of the architecture of the period was designed by Fontaine (1762-1853), who, after studying at Rome and escaping the Revolution by a sojourn in England, had won fame by building the château of Malmaison. Fontaine constructed the arch of the Carrousel, was named "first architect" by the emperor in 1813, and continued to sponsor classical architecture under the succeeding Bourbon kings.

Fontaine  
and  
"Classical"  
Architecture

The foremost French sculptor of the period was Houdon (1740-1828), who had been a leading exemplar of "pure classicism" before the Revolution. Indeed, Houdon had immortalized in marble the features of ever so many celebrities of the old régime—Catherine II of Russia, Diderot and D'Alembert, Gluck and Buffon, Voltaire and Rousseau, and, on a trip to America in the 1780's, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. During the French Revolution, he ingeniously transformed statues of Christian saints into representations of "Philosophy" and "Reason," and subsequently he executed famous busts of Napoleon, Josephine, and Marshal Ney. Napoleon made him an officer of the Legion of Honor.

The chief French painter of the revolutionary and Napoleonic age was David (1748-1825), and he nicely embodied in his canvases the classical spirit of the age. His *Brutus* was appropriately painted in 1789, at the very beginning of the Revolution, and he soon became a devoted Jacobin, painting with sympathy and "classicism" the *Oath of the Tennis Court* and the *Assassination of Marat*. As a member of the National Convention, he voted for the death of Louis XVI. Later, David passed into Napoleon's service and left us magnificent "classical" pictures of the emperor's *Coronation*, of his *Distribution of the Eagles*, and of many of his battles.

An illustrious disciple of David was Ingres (1780-1867), who painted several portraits of Napoleon, always in the classical style, and depicted many scenes from pagan mythology. His *Œdipus and the Sphinx* betrayed the current Egyptian influence, and it is not without interest that one of his last paintings, the *Apotheosis of Napoleon I*, was completed just when Napoleon III was reëstablishing the French empire (1852).

Outside of France, "classicism" continued to be exemplified by several important artists. Canova and Thorwaldsen were particularly successful in adapting "pure classicism" to sculpture. Canova, an Italian, was patronized both by Napoleon and by such popes as Clement XIV and Pius VII; he carved famous religious monuments and mythological scenes and also statues of Napoleon and Napoleon's favorite sister, the Princess Pauline Borghese. Thor-

waldsen, a Dane, was perhaps the most successful of all the imitators of classical sculpture. Throughout the Napoleonic era, he lived in Italy, executing many statues of pagan deities as well as the celebrated tomb of Pope Pius VII in St. Peter's at Rome; afterwards, returning to Denmark, he prepared remarkable statues of Christ and the Apostles for a church in Copenhagen and designed the famous *Lion of Lucerne* as a memorial to the Swiss Guard that had perished in defense of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

In England, the tradition of "classical" portrait painting was maintained by Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830), who succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as the fashionable master of the "grand manner." Lawrence painted many of the celebrities of aristocratic Britain during the Tory régime from 1792 to 1815, and, patronized by George III and the prince-regent and favored in 1815 with a title of knighthood, he then toured the Continent and depicted, ever in the "grand manner," the leading reactionary statesmen of the era of Metternich. The collection of Lawrence's works in the Waterloo gallery of Windsor Castle is eloquent of how the dignitaries who attended the Congress of Vienna wished to be remembered, resplendent champions of antique European civilization and nobility.

Lawrence,  
and Con-  
tinuing  
"Classi-  
cism" in  
Britain

"Classicism" was thus not only the cultural mode of revolutionary France but also the inspiration of several prominent artists of reactionary Europe. Especially in architecture, it continued to be influential long after 1815. In London, for example, Roman columns and arches served as models for the chief monuments in celebration of British heroes of the Napoleonic Wars—the Wellington Arch (1828),<sup>1</sup> the duke of York's Column<sup>2</sup> in Waterloo Place (1833), and the Nelson monument in Trafalgar Square (1829-1843).

In the United States, "classicism" inspired the plans which L'Enfant, a French architect and engineer, prepared (1789-1791) for the newly founded city of Washington, and also the designs

<sup>1</sup> The awful equestrian statue of Wellington, erected in 1846, was mercifully removed in 1883.

<sup>2</sup> The duke of York was not much of a "hero," but he was a son of George III and brother of the prince-regent (later George IV), and he was nominal commander-in-chief of the British army from 1798 to 1800 and again from 1811 until his death in 1827.



of its first public buildings—the Capitol and the White House. Other examples of the period's "classical" taste were the statuesque Cities of France, seated around the Place de la Concorde in Paris; the equestrian statue of Joseph II, in Vienna, by Zanner, depicting the Habsburg emperor in the armor of a Roman general; and the statue of George Washington by Greenough, representing the "father of his country," half-naked, with the pose and expression of Olympian Zeus.

We must not spend too much time on the survival of "classicism" in the early part of the nineteenth century. For the rise of **Revolutionary Rise of "Romanticism"** "romanticism" was far more characteristic of the period, and romanticism was a truly revolutionary force in European culture. The roots of romanticism were in the eighteenth century, but it was nourished by developments of the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras and brought to rich fruition in the period of Metternich.

**Reaction against "Classicism"** Romanticism represented a reaction against the long dominant classicism. Originally, it took its inspiration from nature rather than from ancient Greeks and Romans, and perceived beauty less in artificial domes and columns than in natural mountains and lakes, forests and waterfalls. It also perceived a beauty in natural men, in commonplace things, in everyday happenings. Above all, it stressed feeling and emotion more than reason; sentimentalism was a synonym for romanticism. *Focus behind Romanticism*

**Disillusionment about the "Enlightenment"** To the rise of romanticism, several novel developments of the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras contributed. One was the disillusionment of many intellectuals concerning the "enlightenment" of the eighteenth century. At that time, all sorts of intellectuals—nobles and clergymen as well as commoners—had been sure that the modern age was infinitely more "scientific" and "enlightened" than any preceding age (with the possible exception of pagan antiquity), and that, by the use of human reason, modern men would soon banish superstition and ignorance and usher in a new glorious day of reasoned progress. But then had come the terrors of the French Revolution and the horrors of the Napoleonic Wars, and they were accompanied by a growing conviction on the part of some intellectuals, especially among noblemen and clergymen, that earlier confidence in human reason had been

misplaced. (Was there not something other than reason, they argued, which should guide men and which, if followed, would guide them to a happier destiny?) Had not feeling and sentiment been woefully neglected and the heart been grievously sacrificed to the head? Was the Age of Enlightenment really superior to the Age of Faith; had not the men of the eighteenth century belittled the Christian middle ages as they had magnified pagan antiquity? And did not men have "duties" as well as "rights"? Persons who answered "yes" to these questions were breaking with the "enlightenment" and preparing the way for romanticism. *famous trinity*

Another development, likewise favorable to romanticism, was the new slant given to philosophical speculation by a famous trinity of German "idealists"—Kant, Fichte, and Hegel.

New Philosophical Speculation

Kant, as we have seen, marked the climax of the "natural" metaphysics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and his political philosophy was essentially that of Rousseau and the French revolutionaries.<sup>1</sup> But Kant was also a pioneer in the romantic thought of the early nineteenth century; he emphasized the moral "duties" of man and he stressed the concepts of "spirit" and "will." Fichte followed in Kant's footsteps, so far as basic "idealism" was concerned, but, living in the midst of rising German nationalism, he applied "idealism" to the practical stimulation of patriotic reaction against Napoleon. Fichte was influential in the new university of Berlin

German "Idealism": Kant, Fichte, and Hegel

and died from the cholera which he contracted while tending wounded German soldiers in 1813. Hegel (1770-1831), a native of Württemberg and successor of Fichte in the chair of philosophy at Berlin, was at once idealist and mystic. His eloquent use of semi-scientific, semi-poetic phrases, his constant reference to "spirit"—world spirit, time spirit, national spirit, etc.—his dwelling on "liberty through order," his grandiloquent surveys of history, in which he perceived three stages of human development—from the "oriental" when only the despot is free, through the "classical" when the aristocrat is free, to the medieval and modern "German" when "man as man is free"; all these stirred romantic thought and feeling in his hearers and readers during the era of Metternich. Many "liberals" took hope from Hegel's

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 510, 543.

gospel, and many "conservatives," including King Frederick William III of Prussia, were reassured by it.

Quite different from German idealism but analogous to it in romantic effect, was Jeremy Bentham's utilitarianism. Bentham was, of course, no mystic; he never talked about "spirit"; he had no interest in history; and his philosophy was clearly a product of eighteenth-century rationalism and humanitarianism.<sup>1</sup> But Bentham distrusted the French revolutionaries almost as much as the European reactionaries; he had no use for "natural rights"; and the "liberalism" which he espoused was quite different from the compulsion which the Jacobins and Napoleon practiced. While the latter emphasized the collective power of popular sovereignty, Bentham stressed the liberty of individuals under any sovereignty. Bentham lived on after the downfall of Napoleon, foreshadowing the essentially nineteenth-century liberalism which, being a protest against tyranny whether of aristocrats or of democrats, could evoke a ready response from romantic individualists.

Still another and far more important factor contributing to the rise of romanticism was the spread of nationalism during the Napoleonic era. Nationalism then appeared, it will be recalled, in Germany, Spain, Italy, Poland, Norway, Finland, Greece, and Serbia, and was mightily quickened in France and Great Britain.<sup>2</sup> Everywhere its devotees displayed patriotic emotions and sentiments; usually they extolled the common people of their respective nationalities; and frequently they ransacked historical records to find evidence of their nations' glorious deeds in the past. All these nationalist attitudes and endeavors harmonized nicely with romanticism. Nationalists like the Greek Korais or the Pole Kosciuszko or the Italian Foscolo or the German Fichte grew more and more romantic, and their romanticism won them many disciples.

The development of nationalist history was peculiarly helpful to the rise of romanticism. In the eighteenth century the outstanding historical writing had been cosmopolitan and critical in viewpoint; the best of it had dealt with far-off times or far-off places. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, a change began. Henceforth an increasing

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 544-545.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 698-708, 710-711.

number of historians were writing about the past of their own nations, and, though they talked more and more about "scientific accuracy" in their "research," they tended to present the results of such research in manner most conducive to national pride. National pride, in turn, prompted more historical research of a romantic kind. Baron vom Stein, the great German patriot, sponsored a project for collecting and publishing all the source-materials for the medieval history of Germany; and the first volume of the resulting *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica* was published in 1826 under the editorship of a famous scholar, G. H. Pertz. In England, parliament in 1800 appointed a "Record Commission" to collect and publish the "chronicles and memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the middle ages." In France, Guizot, a romantic "liberal" statesman, inaugurated in 1834 a similar series for his country.<sup>1</sup> And paralleling all this interest and work in national history, was the intensified study of the various national languages. Philologists joined with historians to centre the attention of many intellectuals on national origins in the middle ages, and the new absorption in medieval history was itself, let us emphasize, a reaction against "classicism." It was a support for "romanticism." *Effect of Romanticism on Religion*

Finally, we must refer to a marked revival of supernatural religion in the early part of the nineteenth century. The eighteenth century, as we have pointed out,<sup>2</sup> had been, for many intellectuals, a century of natural religion, of deism and atheism, and of scepticism about supernatural Christianity, Protestant and Catholic; and many of the French revolutionaries had imagined that they could fairly easily blot out Christianity altogether. But while a considerable number of succeeding "radicals" and "liberals" retained an eighteenth-century repugnance to organized religion, and while, therefore, there could be no such universal European acceptance of supernatural Christianity in the nineteenth century as there had been in the middle ages or in early modern times, the fact

<sup>1</sup> This series, supported by successive French governments since 1834, is known as the *Collection de documents inédits*: it numbers more than 280 volumes. The corresponding British undertaking was in the hands of the "record commission" from 1800 to 1837 and of the "master of the rolls" thereafter; it has eventuated in the publication, to date, of 243 volumes, commonly called the "Rolls series." The German series of *Monumenta* now embraces 120 volumes.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 518-525.

was obvious in the first part of the new century that a goodly number of intellectuals, as well as a preponderant part of the masses, were recovering faith in supernatural religion and returning to the practice of Christianity. The fact was also obvious that this religious revival was closely associated with the rise of romanticism.

The disillusionment about "reason" helped to create not only the romantic reaction but also the religious revival. The "idealism" of Fichte and Hegel operated somewhat to the same end. And a prime factor in the religious revival as well as in the romantic reaction was the growth of nationalism. Nationalist intellectuals, romantically admiring the "common people," observed that the common people were religious; or romantically lauding the middle age, they discovered that the middle age was the "age of faith." Fichte and Hegel maintained that Protestant Christianity was an integral part of "Germanism." Chateaubriand, a romantic French nobleman, in his brilliant and popular *Genius of Christianity* (1801), extolled Catholicism as the begetter of the highest art and the custodian of the best patriotism.

Conservatives particularly turned to Christianity as a bulwark against revolution, and throughout the era of Metternich there was much talk in reactionary circles of the union of altar and throne. In Britain, since the *Reflections* of Edmund Burke, deism had been losing and pietism had been gaining ground: the established Anglican Church was becoming less "broad" and more "evangelical"; Methodism was growing; and even a Catholic revival was imminent. On the Continent the Tsar Alexander based his Holy Alliance (1815) on the "principles" of historic Christianity, and King Frederick William III of Prussia sought to strengthen Protestant Christianity by uniting the Lutheran and Calvinist churches in his realm (1817).

Especially noteworthy was the Catholic revival of the period. Pope Pius VII (1800-1823) won general respect by his dignified resistance to Napoleon and general sympathy by the persecution to which Napoleon subjected him. During his pontificate, more-

**Advance  
of Pietism**

over, he was well served by an able, pious, and conciliatory secretary, Cardinal Consalvi; and he was aided in his work of reconstruction by the general religious revival of the age. In 1814 he recovered Rome and the other temporal states of the church in central Italy, and in the same year he formally reconstituted the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) throughout Christendom.<sup>1</sup> With the restored Bourbon king of France he continued the concordat which he had signed with Napoleon Bonaparte in 1802, and with other traditionally Catholic states he concluded similar concordats in the years following 1815. With Protestant Prussia he negotiated a friendly agreement (1821) for the regulation of Catholic affairs in that country. There were numerous conversions of intellectuals during the pontificate of Pius VII,<sup>2</sup> and he almost lived to witness the emancipation of Catholics in Great Britain (1829).

Pius VII  
and the  
Catholic  
Restora-  
tion

Of course the religious revival was only one phase of the rise of romanticism. Indeed, there were almost as many phases of this new phenomenon as there were individual romanticists. The one thing which romanticists had in common was an emotional sentimental reaction against "classicism" and against the rationalism which in the eighteenth century had been associated with "classicism." They differed about everything else. Some romanticists were ardently Catholic or Protestant; others were zealously anti-Christian. Some were absorbed in the middle ages; others, in nature. Some were reactionary or conservative; others were liberal or revolutionary. Most were nationalist, though in many different ways.

Varieties  
of Roman-  
ticism

A "romantic" outlook upon life and art, of course, had been foreshadowed in the eighteenth century, prior to the French Revolution. In Great Britain, the landscape painting of Wilson and the sentimental novels of Richardson, as well as the homely

<sup>1</sup> On the earlier suppression of the Jesuits, see above, pp. 528-529.

<sup>2</sup> In 1817 appeared a famous book in praise of the papacy by a French reactionary scholar, Count Joseph de Maistre. De Maistre argued that the pope was infallible in matters of faith and morals and that the true cure for all existing ills was the recognition of the pope as the supreme and inspired head of all Christian nations. The book created a deep impression, and those who accepted its thesis were commonly called "ultramontanes" ("persons who look beyond the mountains").

dialect verse of Robert Burns and the make-believe medieval ballads of Thomas Chatterton, had been "romantic." In France, something of the same tendency had been displayed by the affected rustic background of Watteau's pictures and by the writings of Rousseau in praise of nature and liberty and common people. In Italy the engravings of Piranesi and in Germany the early literary works of Lessing and Goethe had been similarly romantic.<sup>1</sup>

On the eve of the nineteenth century, just when Napoleon Bonaparte was establishing his military dictatorship, romanticism blossomed, suddenly and almost simultaneously, in the national literatures of England, Germany, and France. In 1798 two English poets, Coleridge and Wordsworth, published the joint volume of *Lyrical Ballads*. Coleridge sought to show that common human emotions and mystical religious feelings can provide themes for beautiful poetry, while Wordsworth endeavored to prove that commonplace subjects in nature can be used for like purpose. In the same year two Germans, the brothers Schlegel, founded at Jena a special journal, the *Athenaeum*, for the propagation of romantic ideas of liberty and revolutionary forms of art. Three years later, in 1801, a disillusioned French nobleman, Chateaubriand, published the highly colored *Genius of Christianity* and the sentimental Indian tale of *Atala*. Fame speedily attached to all these pioneer romantic undertakings, and soon the number of romantic poets and novelists (and historians) was legion.

It was in English poetry that romanticism took earliest and strongest hold. In the midst of the Napoleonic wars, Coleridge was writing such mystically emotional poems as *The Ancient Mariner*, *Kubla Khan*, and *Christabel*; Wordsworth was sentimentalizing nature in such poetical descriptions as *The Prelude* and *The Excursion*; and Sir Walter Scott, aristocrat and Tory, was acquiring popularity with his long historical ballads of Scottish love and prowess—*Marmion*, *Lady of the Lake*, etc. Then, in the first years of the era of Metternich, flourished three short-lived but very famous English poets—

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 565-566, 570-572.

Byron, Shelley, and Keats. Keats wrote largely on classical themes, but his manner was romantic and his celebrated *Eve of St. Agnes* was very romantic. Shelley's romanticism was reflected in his passionate, and often unreasoning, songs against tyranny and in behalf of freedom; he was the apostle of a radical, almost anarchistic romanticism. Byron, a nobleman but a rebel against the conventions of society and morality, wrote stirring poetry which brought him wide and loud acclaim as the leading spirit of radical and revolutionary romanticism; Byron proved the faith that was in him by dying in the cause of Greek nationalism.

On a lower literary plane in Britain at this time was Thomas Moore, Irish in nationality and Whig in politics. Moore's *Lalla Rookh* (1816), being extremely sentimental, was even more popular than Coleridge's *Kubla Khan*; and his series of Irish lays and ditties, being mournfully nationalist, enraptured even English ears.

In the meantime, thanks largely to Sir Walter Scott, the English novel was becoming romantic too. Scott abandoned poetry in 1814, and thenceforth until his death in 1832 he rigorously applied himself to the production of the vast series of Waverley novels. These novels, dealing in the main with romantic episodes in the history of Scotland, were probably more widely read and more influential than any other fiction of the nineteenth century. They put a glamour on the middle ages and did for the historical romanticism of the nineteenth century what Richardson's novels had done for the pretty romanticism of the preceding century.

The  
English  
Romantic  
Novel: Sir  
Walter  
Scott

Closely following Scott's work came the romantic novels of an American, James Fenimore Cooper. In 1823 Cooper inaugurated the romance of sea-adventure with his *Pilot*; and in the same year, with his *Pioneers*, he introduced the famous *Leather-stocking Tales* of frontier and Indian life in central New York. These and succeeding novels of Cooper seized the fancy of the reading public throughout Europe as well as in America and were speedily translated into most European languages.

James  
Fenimore  
Cooper

Simultaneously, romanticism was supplanting classicism in German literature. The Schlegels continued their propaganda



in behalf of the new literary and æsthetic vogue, and one of them, Friedrich Schlegel, was influenced by it in curious ways: he became an enthusiastic medievalist, joined the Catholic Church, whipped up patriotic sentiment in Austria during the war of 1809, and after 1815 became a popular lecturer on history and art at Vienna and a staunch upholder of the Holy Alliance and the régime of Metternich. Meanwhile all sorts of Germans fell under the spell of romanticism. The idealist philosophy of Fichte and Hegel took on a romantic complexion. Schiller followed up his classical *Don Carlos* with his romantic historical drama of *William Tell* (1804). Goethe, who had been a herald of romanticism in the eighteenth century and had then won international fame as a classicist, lived on until 1832; his *Faust*, which he completed shortly before his death, was a romantic masterpiece and has remained Germany's most famous drama. At the same time Franz Grillparzer, the greatest dramatic poet of Austria and a chronic misanthrope, was romantically borrowing ideas and forms from Spain and was writing historical dramas and gruesome fate-tragedies. At about the same time, too, the Bavarian Richter (usually known by his Christian names "Jean Paul"), eccentric, humorous, and deeply religious, was producing voluminous novels which were so sentimental as to be mushy but which were read avidly by his generation.

In romantic vein, also, were the patriotic verses of Arndt and Körner, which during the years of "Prussian regeneration" nerved German nationalists for the War of Liberation against Napoleon. And foremost among the romantic lyric poets who arose in Germany during the era of Metternich, mention must be made of Heine and Uhland. Heine, of Jewish family, began as an admirer of the Schlegels, a hero-worshipper of Napoleon, and a disciple of Hegel, and in Germany in the decade of the 1820's he wrote his best works—delightful folk-songs and witty travel-books; subsequently he lived in exile at Paris, sickly and increasingly satirical. Uhland composed graceful ballads, the most celebrated of which were in furtherance of German patriotism and in imitation of what he thought was medieval, and in his later years he devoted himself mainly to the collecting of German folk-myths and folk-songs of earlier centuries.

The literature of Latin Europe—France, Italy, and Spain—was not so quickly or so completely dominated by romanticism as was the literature of Germany and England, perhaps because the countries of Latin Europe were too close to the source of “classical” inspiration. Romanticism did have some literary apostles in these countries, however. In Italy, Foscolo’s ode to Napoleon, his patriotic invocations of Dante and other great Italians of the past, and his translation of Sterne’s *Sentimental Journey* were quite romantic, but Foscolo was obliged to flee Italy in 1816 and spent the last years of his life in England.<sup>1</sup> In France, Chateaubriand’s romantic outpourings about the beauties of primitive nature and North American Indians and historic Christianity were supplemented by the sentimental novels of Madame de Staël, the daughter of the Swiss banker Necker, who had been finance-minister to Louis XVI at the beginning of the French Revolution.<sup>2</sup> Madame de Staël’s *Delphine* (1802) and *Corrine* (1807) enjoyed a wide popularity in their day, but their authoress was suspect in France. She was closely watched by Napoleon’s police and repeatedly exiled from Paris; she wrote an elaborate work in romantic praise of Germany; and her last days (1816–1817) were solaced by visits from that romantic English revolutionary, Lord Byron. It was not until the 1830’s and 1840’s—late in the era of Metternich—that romanticism was adopted by a considerable number of first-rate literary men in France and Italy.

Halting  
Develop-  
ment of  
Romantic  
Literature  
in Latin  
Europe

Foscolo

Madame  
de Staël

Among intellectuals in Russia, on the other hand, romanticism penetrated soon after 1815. The outcome of the Napoleonic wars served to strengthen the cultural, as well as political, ties between Russia on one side and Germany and England on the other, and it is not surprising therefore that Russian literature, which became distinguished after 1815, should reflect the romantic spirit then rising in England and Germany. The Tsar Alexander I, brought up in the “enlightenment,” turned romantic and set the pace for other Russian intellectuals. The first great literary figure of Russia was Pushkin, a contemporary of Alexander and an admirer of both Byron and Napoleon. Pushkin’s poems were in the romantic manner. His tragedy of *Boris Godunov* (1825) was in

Russian  
Romantic  
Literature

Pushkin

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 699.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 593–594.

imitation of Shakespeare. And in his last years he wrote a romantic epic about the defeat of the Swedes by Peter the Great and a Byronic poem of Russian nationalism. Pushkin appropriately died in a duel.

Somewhat younger than Pushkin was Gogol, a "liberal" romanticist, who gained distinction by his tales of country life among Ukrainians and Cossacks. His masterpiece, *Dead Souls* (1842), comprised a series of humorous, though unfavorable, sketches of Russian provincial society. Gogol, in later life, turned to asceticism and mysticism and went on a religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Painting, like literature, was affected by the rise of romanticism. At the very time when David, Ingres, and Lawrence were exemplifying the great classical tradition, certain other and Romantic Painting equally great painters were repudiating it. For example, the Spaniard Goya, the greatest and most original of all eighteenth-century painters,<sup>1</sup> living on into the nineteenth century and sharing his countrymen's patriotic aversion to Napoleon and the French, transformed his "enlightened" anti-Bourbonism and anti-clericalism into something resembling romanticism. At least, Goya's terrible depicting of the atrocities of French soldiers in Spain appealed directly to emotion and feeling and indirectly helped to create sympathy for the victims.

More purposefully romantic were two nature-painters of England—Constable (1776-1837) and Turner (1775-1851)—and the French historical painter Delacroix (1798-1863). Nature-Painting: Constable and Turner Constable was one of the most popular painters of nature that the world has ever known; he was the Wordsworth of the brush; his *Salisbury Cathedral* and *Dedham Vale*, for example, were masterpieces of romantic sentiment. Turner was more varied and more provocative in his tastes. He was interested in ancient Carthage, in modern Venice, in medieval Scotland. He pictured the sea and rivers, sunsets and Venetian scenes, with curious and sometimes bizarre coloring.

Delacroix, the son of a foreign minister of the revolutionary French republic, became in the 1820's, under the influence of Constable and Byron, the pioneer of romantic painting in France.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 564-565.

The subjects which Delacroix treated were historical and nationalist rather than "natural": Dante and Virgil, with medieval setting; *Sardanapalus*, from Byron's poem; incidents from the contemporary struggle for Greek independence; exploits of French "liberals" or French soldiers.

**Patriot-Painting:  
Delacroix**

For all his paintings he employed glowing colors, in contrast with the sombre restraint of the classicists. Delacroix was commissioned in 1836 to decorate the Chamber of Deputies in Paris. He was the forerunner of the vast number of painters who during the ensuing century filled public buildings with fanciful pictures of military victories and other glorious deeds of national history.

Musical art, even more than painting, felt the influence of romanticism. For it was a romantic spirit which possessed Beethoven, and Beethoven, both in his work and in his influence, was one of the greatest musicians that ever lived.

**Romantic  
Music**

Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) came of a family of musicians which had emigrated from the southern Netherlands to Germany, and his life, most of which was spent in Vienna, he consecrated to music. He was singularly reflective and grew more and more "other-worldly,"

**Beethoven**

perhaps because he was unhappy in this world; and in musical art he was undoubtedly a genius. He took some lessons from Mozart and Haydn,<sup>1</sup> and at first he was content in his compositions to preserve the classical tradition of Mozart, whom he greatly admired. Presently, however, he developed a romantic style peculiar to himself, and employed it for various romantic themes. His *Third Symphony* (Eroica), composed in 1804, was in hero worship of Napoleon. His *Fifth Symphony*, composed in 1806 and first played in 1809, was aglow with the new fires of German nationalism. His *Seventh Symphony* was written in honor of the Congress of Vienna and in celebration of the overthrow of Napoleonic despotism. In addition to his immortal

<sup>1</sup>For Mozart, see above, p. 575. Haydn (1732-1809), of Yugoslav (Croatian) stock, was for many years in the musical service of a wealthy and aristocratic Hungarian family—the Esterhazys—and, with the exception of brief visits to England, lived his last years at Vienna. Haydn wrote most of his numerous masses, operas, sonatas, and quartets in the pompous classical manner of the eighteenth century. Towards the last, however, he showed nationalist and romantic tendencies, as in his *Austrian National Anthem* (1797) and in his oratorios of the *Creation* (1799) and the *Seasons* (1801).

symphonies, Beethoven wrote sonatas, concertos, masses, and an opera (*Fidelio*)—all matchless in profundity of feeling.

Romantic music based its greatness on Beethoven, but a good deal of its immediate popularity on three other Germans—Weber,

**Weber, Schubert, and Mendelssohn** Schubert, and Mendelssohn. Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826) was thoroughly romantic: he wrote music for Körner's patriotic verses, a cantata on *War and Victory* (1815), and three notable operas—*Der Freischütz*, produced at Berlin in 1821 on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo and on the occasion of the opening of King Frederick William III's new opera-house; *Euryanthe*, founded on a medieval romance; and *Oberon*, dealing with fairy-land. Franz Schubert (1797–1828), a native of Vienna and an admirer of Shakespeare and the romantic poetry of Byron and Heine, wrote songs unsurpassed in melody and beauty. Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847), the grandson of Moses Mendelssohn,<sup>1</sup> was a youthful prodigy and immensely popular in his day; his overture to Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, his *Songs without Words*, his oratorios, and his *Reformation Symphony* were pronouncedly romantic in inspiration and appeal.

Italian opera, too, during these early years of the nineteenth century turned away from "classical" models and took for themes

**Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti** either the historical novels of contemporary romanticists or the romantic doings of common people of the time. Three Italians were particularly prominent in the new movement—Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti.

All of them acquired distinction in Italy, and all spent their last years in Paris. The sparkle of Rossini's *Barber of Seville* (1816) and *William Tell* (1829), the melancholy sweetness of Bellini's *Norma* and *La Sonnambula* (1831), and the fluent melody of Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1836, based on Scott's historical novel) were very popular and quite romantic. Paris, the scene of the operatic triumphs of these Italians, became the capital of European opera, and Napoleon's nephew subscribed handsomely to the erection there of the finest opera-house in the world.

In fine, it will be noted that during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, while traditional "classicism" retained its supremacy in architecture and sculpture and a considerable hold on painting, a revolutionary "romanticism" was rising and

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 531–532.

becoming dominant in music and literature and partially so in painting. During the period Europe was the scene of many an art-bout between "classicists" and "romanticists," and of wordy quarrels among the latter as to whether they should look to nature or to history, just as it was the scene of a veritable epidemic of political conflicts between "liberals" and "conservatives." To this epidemic we may now attend.

"Romanticists" and "Classicists"

#### 4. THE EPIDEMIC OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN CONSERVATIVES AND LIBERALS

Metternich, seated in Vienna and presiding over the extensive Habsburg dominions and the peace of all Europe, might listen to the symphonies of Beethoven or the songs of Schubert and read the novels of Scott or the poems of Byron, but he was no romanticist and no nationalist. He had no sympathy with novelties. In tastes he was an old-fashioned classicist and in policies he was a reactionary.

Metternich's "Classicism" and "Conservatism"

Metternich was well aware of the unrest throughout Europe, not only in the domain of art, but in the realm of political and social thought. He understood that the principles of the French Revolution and those of English "radicals," like Jeremy Bentham and William Cobbett, had infected many of his contemporaries. He knew that a large number of intellectuals and middle-class persons and even some artisans and peasants were calling themselves "liberals" and were threatening everywhere to subvert the old régime of class-distinctions, established religion, absolute monarchy, and dynastic states, in favor of a new régime of social equality, ecclesiastical disestablishment, constitutional monarchy, and national states. He would counteract these liberals. He would conserve the old régime.

Metternich's first and greatest care was to make the Habsburg empire an example to all Europe of what a conservative state should be. He would have in his empire no nationalism and no liberalism. To check incipient nationalism among the diverse subject peoples, he jailed nationalist agitators and strategically garrisoned particular parts of the realm with Habsburg regiments of alien nationality: Hungary, with Croatian Yugoslavs; German Austria, with Czechs; Bohemia, with Germans; the Italian prov-

Metternich's Conservative Policies in the Austrian Empire

inces, with Hungarians; and Austrian Poland (Galicia), with Italians. To combat the danger of infiltration of revolutionary ideas from abroad, he erected a wall of tariffs and censors around the Habsburg lands. To prevent the rise of liberalism at home, he rigidly supervised the press, strengthened the police, and confirmed the preëminence of conservative ecclesiastics in the schools. Even the slight liberalism in Grillparzer's dramas was deleted by governmental censors, and Austria's foremost dramatist cynically ceased to write. Only music escaped Metternich's interference.

This conservative policy was accompanied by economic stagnation in the Austrian Empire. Agriculture, still by far the most important pursuit of all the Habsburg peoples, was hampered, as in France before the Revolution, by the surviving serfdom of peasants and the continuing feudal privileges of a proud landed aristocracy which no longer gave any equivalent service to the public weal. Trade languished on account of the system of high tariffs at the frontier and of special customs at interior points. And inequality of assessment, waste in collection, and extravagance in expenditure rendered the imperial taxes extremely burdensome for the common people. Liberals there were in Austria, and existing economic conditions played into their hands. Yet, it was not until 1848 that they dared to rise against Metternich and break the chains with which he had bound the Habsburg Empire to reaction.

In the meantime, next to Metternich's solicitude for the immediate dominions of the Habsburg crown, was his anxiety so to dominate Italy and Germany as to stamp out any political or social movements which might spread thence into Austria and tend to undermine the institutions which he championed. And the territorial settlements of 1815 were such as to enable him to exercise the desired domination.

In his relations with the German states, Metternich encountered little trouble. Austria possessed the presidency of the new German confederation and could always count upon the support of the princes of the smaller states who were instinctively jealous of Prussia. By this means Metternich effectually blocked repeated attempts to fulfill the promise of article XIII of the confederation's constitution that "a representative form of government shall be adopted in the federative states." In several states

**Metternich's  
Support of  
Conservatism  
throughout  
Germany**

of southern Germany, where the tradition of alliance with France kept liberalism very much alive, the princes, it is true, deemed it expedient to grant charters<sup>1</sup> resembling that accorded by Louis XVIII to the French people, and to retain the Napoleonic code of laws, but in almost every case harsh game-laws, restrictions on the press, and maintenance of many social abuses kept up a smoldering discontent on the part of liberals; and Metternich used his influence to prevent further reforms.

In northern and central Germany, reaction was more pronounced. Here, with the exception of the high-minded duke of Saxe-Weimar, every prince evaded whatever promises of constitutional government he had made during the patriotic period of the War of Liberation. An often-cited case was that of the old elector of Hesse-Cassel, who, after spending eight years in exile, returned with the phrase. "I have been sleeping these years," and, with the aid of his soldiers in their eighteenth-century powder and pigtails, proceeded to restore the old régime in its entirety. Perhaps King Frederick William III of Prussia had been quite sincere in his promise to grant a charter to his people, but he was a timid soul, easily frightened by the slightest difficulties, and he always considered it an honor to defer to the superior judgment of Metternich and the Austrian emperor. Besides, Prussia had immediately to deal with the task of improving her finances, bettering her military system, and welding together the new territories which the congress of Vienna had secured her. One notable economic reform was actually accomplished in 1818 by the abolition of provincial tariffs and the establishment of free trade within Prussia.

Yet, within all the German states the spirit of liberalism evoked by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic storms was still alive. The bourgeoisie desired to participate in government. The lower classes wanted social reform. Patriots in every walk of life yearned for a great and glorious, united Germany. No coercion availed to stamp out the embers of unrest. Especially in the universities liberalism thrived. Students formed secret societies, which, under the names of *Tugendbund* and *Burschenschaft*, made noisy demonstrations that caused uneasiness alike in Berlin and in Vienna. Thus the Wart-

Persist-  
ence of  
Liberal-  
ism in  
Germany

<sup>1</sup> Notably in Bavaria (1818), Württemberg (1817, but soon suspended), and the small Thuringian states.



burg festival in October, 1817,<sup>1</sup> which was attended by nothing more dangerous than undergraduate hilarity and a solemn burning, in imitation of Martin Luther, of various odd emblems of the old régime, was magnified by Metternich into a rebellion and drew down upon the grand-duke of Saxe-Weimar the joint protest of the reactionary powers. Two years later, the assassination of the dramatist Kotzebue, a prominent conservative spy in the service of Russia, by a liberal student named Karl Sand, clinched the matter. Metternich, assured of Prussian aid, convoked a special meeting of German statesmen at Carlsbad to concert action against liberalism.

The result was the promulgation of the famous Carlsbad decrees by the German federal diet (September, 1819). These contained detailed provisions for supervising university professors and students and muzzling the press, forbidding the grant of any constitution "inconsistent with the monarchical principle," and establishing a central committee at Mainz to investigate "the origin and manifold ramifications of the revolutionary plots and demagogical associations directed against the existing constitution and the internal peace both of the union and of the individual states."

<sup>1</sup> The following years were uneventful in Germany. The Mainz committee, though hampered by the mutual jealousies of some of the princes, proved effective enough in preventing all free expression of opinion, and the official "curators" of the universities kept liberal enthusiasts in order. Metternich's conservative hold on Germany seemed complete.

Hardly less complete was Metternich's influence in the Italian states. Not only were Venetia and Lombardy administered as integral parts of the Habsburg Empire, but Austrian princes ruled in the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena; the Austrian chancellor was on friendly terms with the papacy; and Ferdinand I, the Bourbon king of the Two Sicilies, reinstated in Naples by an Austrian army, had pledged himself by a secret article in the treaty of 1815 not to introduce methods of government incompatible with those in force in Austria's Italian possessions. In all these states, during

<sup>1</sup> The 300th anniversary of the publication of Luther's theses against indulgences (see above, p. 154), and the fourth anniversary of the Battle of the Nations (see above, p. 687).

the era of Metternich, the conduct of public business, thoroughly reactionary, gave full rein to the abuses of the old régime. A system which was burdensome when applied in Austria by natives to a traditionally contented populace, was worse when exercised in Italy by a foreign power over persons who had drunk deeply of an effervescent revolutionary stimulant imported from France. Victor Emmanuel I, the king of Sardinia, was the only ruler in the peninsula with exclusively Italian interests. But although he was joyfully acclaimed upon his restoration in Turin, he speedily yielded to his own inclinations and to the menacing representations of Metternich; he disavowed French reforms, and restored, as far as possible, conditions as they had been prior to 1789. Officially all Italy was reactionary.

Yet here, too, beneath the surface, liberalism seethed. The mass of peasantry, ignorant and influenced by the conservative clergy, were generally indifferent, but among the educated middle classes, the professional and business men, the double demand for constitutional government and for national independence grew ever louder. As in so many other countries, the Italian liberals employed underground means of agitation, and such secret societies as the *Carbonari* and Freemasons conducted a good deal of revolutionary propaganda. The *Carbonari* in Naples and Sicily alone numbered thousands. Against the nationalist and liberal aspirations of these Italians, Metternich was always able to use Austrian police and soldiers. The history of his Italian domination is in fact but an alternation of popular riots and military repression.

**Growth of  
Liberalism  
in Italy**

In 1820 there was a rebellion in Naples against the tyrannical Ferdinand I.<sup>1</sup> The king, deserted by his troops, subscribed to a constitution modelled after the Spanish instrument of 1812. But hardly had he taken the oath with gratuitous solemnity, when Metternich assembled the "Concert of Europe" in international congress at Troppau and proceeded with the eager support of the Prussian king and the Russian tsar to sanction the principle of intervention,<sup>2</sup> to denounce revolution, and to summon Ferdinand to appear before them. The next year, at the

**The  
Neapolitan  
Rebellion  
of 1820  
and its  
Suppression**

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand (1751-1825) IV of Naples, III of Sicily, I of the Two Sicilies; the third son of Charles III of Spain and, of course, a Bourbon.

<sup>2</sup> For the Troppau protocol, see above, p. 733.

international congress of Laibach, King Ferdinand repudiated his oath and formally "invited" an Austrian army to march into Naples "to restore order." The campaign which followed was eminently satisfactory to Metternich. Neapolitan opposition collapsed; the constitution was abrogated; and Ferdinand, protected by Austrian bayonets, inaugurated an era of savage persecution. The Two Sicilies long maintained the reputation of being the worst governed state in Christendom.

Following closely upon the heels of the Neapolitan insurrection came a revolt in Piedmont. In 1821 soldiers mutinied and seized Turin; King Victor Emmanuel I abdicated in favor of his brother Charles Felix, and named Prince Charles Albert, next in line of royal succession, as regent. Charles Albert, who was in open sympathy with liberalism and a bitter opponent of Austria, at once proclaimed a constitution similar to the Spanish document of 1812,<sup>1</sup> but the speedy intervention of Austrian troops enabled Charles Felix to expel the liberal-minded regent and to reestablish absolutist government. Metternich proposed at the international congress of Verona (1822) to punish Charles Albert by depriving him of the right of succession to the throne of Sardinia and Piedmont, but Charles Felix successfully interposed the doctrine of "legitimacy," and Charles Albert soon manifested conversion to orthodox Metternichian conservatism by enlisting for service against liberalism in Spain. Italy, like Germany, appeared to be bound hand and foot to the triumphal reactionary chariot of Austria.

Metternich thus not only entrenched conservatism in the Austrian empire but successfully combated liberalism in Germany and Italy. By this time, too, he could count on the hearty coöperation of the Tsar Alexander, who for a time had appeared to be leaning ominously in the direction of liberalism.

The Tsar Alexander, it will be recalled, had given some evidences of a liberal disposition. He had advised the restored Bourbon king of France to issue a constitutional charter. He had confirmed the traditional national liberties and parliamentary authority of his new grand-duchy of Finland. He had taken steps to emancipate the Estonian and Latvian serfs in his Baltic provinces. He had concerted

**The Piedmontese Revolt of 1821 and its Suppression**

**The Liberal Reputation of the Tsar Alexander**

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 681-682.

with Czartoryski the reestablishment of a Polish national state with himself as king but with a liberal constitutional government. He had listened with apparent sympathy to the pleas of Baron vom Stein for the erection of a united liberal German state. For Russia proper, he had toyed with ideas of promulgating a written constitution, abolishing serfdom, and promoting popular education. He actually began the reform of governmental autocracy by creating an advisory council of the Russian Empire, and he effected educational improvement by founding some parish and normal schools, and by reorganizing the universities of Moscow, Vilna, and Dorpat and erecting new ones at St. Petersburg, Kazan, and Kharkov.

After 1815 Alexander's expressions of sympathy for liberalism grew fewer and cooler. Gradually the Russian tsar shifted his enthusiasm from political and social reform to religious revival and military show. And Metternich, while distrustful of Alexander's armaments, never neglected an opportunity to impress upon him the dangers of abetting liberalism. The more he made concessions to revolutionaries, the more they would demand. The more they were allowed to agitate, the more they would incite to disorder and violence. Consequently the only sure means of maintaining that Christian peace and charity on which the mystical Alexander had set his heart would be for Russia to join Austria in the stern, unrelenting suppression of liberalism.

Alexander's Conversion to Conservatism

A series of events confirmed the tsar's conversion: a revolutionary conspiracy among the officers of his own bodyguard (1818); the murder of the Russian agent Kotzebue by a German liberal (1819); the assassination of a nephew of Louis XVIII by a French liberal (1820); and insurrections and violences in Italy and Spain. At the international congress of Troppau (1820), Alexander confessed his earlier errors. "To-day," he told Metternich, "I deplore all that I said and did between the years 1815 and 1818. I regret the waste of time, which we must try to retrieve. You have correctly judged the state of affairs. Tell me what you desire and what you wish me to do, and I will do it."

Alexander became even more active than Metternich in devising and executing reactionary measures against the liberal movements in Germany, Italy, and Spain. The Holy Alliance

was practically transformed into an organization for policing Europe in the interest of conservatism.

Within Russia, Alexander sharply halted the reforms already begun. Nothing more was heard of constitutional government for the empire and of the abolition of serfdom. Indeed, during the last years of his reign, Alexander's chief concern was with his army, and for its recruitment and support he was as despotic over the Russian masses and as oppressive as Peter the Great. One result of this changed attitude of the tsar was a deepening disappointment among the little group of liberal intellectuals and especially among young army officers who had learned a good deal of French revolutionary doctrine during their campaigns in western Europe. Secret societies sprang up, and liberal agitation in Russia assumed a character somewhat similar to that in Italy and Spain.

When Alexander died suddenly in December, 1825, the new revolutionary societies made an attempt to check the reaction.

**The Liberal "Decem-  
brist" Mutiny in  
Russia**      Opposing the late tsar's directions that he be succeeded by his second brother Nicholas in preference to his first brother, the erratic but liberal-minded Grand-Duke Constantine, they organized a mutiny among the troops quartered in St. Petersburg. "Constantine and Constitution" became the motto of the revolt, but Constantine speedily repudiated his friends, and Nicholas encountered no great trouble in restoring order and obtaining general recognition for himself. How superficial as yet was the liberal propaganda in Russia may be inferred from the well-attested fact that many of the mutinous soldiers believed that "Constitution" was Constantine's wife! The ringleaders of this December revolt, who were subsequently known as Decembrists, were severely punished by the new tsar. Conservatism was fully triumphant in Russia, as in Austria.

In Great Britain, also, conservatism (of a rather different sort) was seemingly triumphant. Here, it is true, there was no ab-

**The Height of Aristocratic Conservatism in Great Britain**      solutist monarch and no cessation of constitutional government; the supremacy of parliament, established in the seventeenth century, still obtained. But the British parliament was aristocratic rather than democratic, and the French Revolution was not echoed in Britain by any social or political change. The nobles

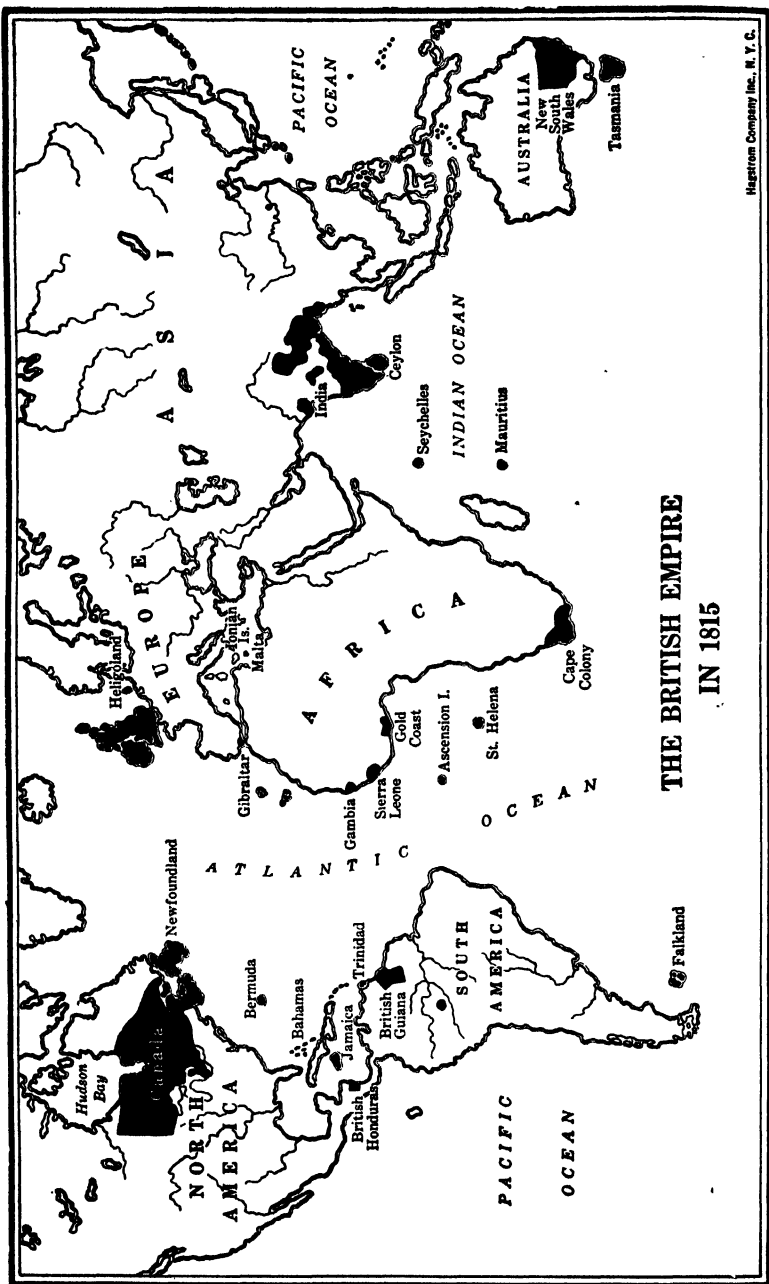
retained their honors and privileges and vast estates. The Protestant Church of England remained a state-church with rich endowments and with rights of collecting taxes (tithes) from the people, monopolizing public education, and having official representation in the House of Lords. Indeed, the long and eventually successful struggle which Britain waged against revolutionary and Napoleonic France served, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> to strengthen the patriotic devotion of the English masses to the "old régime" and thereby to enable the aristocratic parliament to enact "enclosures," "corn laws," and other legislation tending to increase the economic and political influence of the privileged governing classes.

Among these classes, it was the Tory faction which had conducted and won the war with France; and so great was the prestige which consequently accrued to it, that it remained in control of the British government for some time after 1815, conserving the institutions and practices of the past and resisting demands for reform. Its outstanding leaders now were Castlereagh, Wellington, and the prince-regent. From 1811 when hopeless insanity finally overtook the narrow-minded King George III, the influence of the crown was exercised by his son, the prince-regent, an unpopular fop whose rigid support of conservatism was as unwavering as his father's, but whose cynical, sensual immorality was in glaring contrast to his father's simple domestic virtues. The accession of the prince-regent to the throne on his father's death in 1820 changed the form but not the fact: George IV remained until his death in 1830 the stout advocate of reaction. In Castlereagh and Wellington, the two Anglo-Irish noblemen and landowners, he possessed powerful allies. Castlereagh (1769-1822), though never technically prime minister, wielded from 1812 till his suicide in 1822 an influence such as few ministers have ever exercised; gifted and affable, he directed the foreign policy and controlled the House of Commons. Wellington (1769-1852), though not in conspicuous civil employment until after Castlereagh's death, contributed the renown of his military exploits and the prestige of his blunt, outspoken personality to upholding as far as possible in England the reactionary cause he had so ably headed on the Continent. Such were the men who

The  
Prince-  
Regent—  
George IV

Castle-  
reagh and  
Wellington

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 710-717.



guided the destinies of Great Britain during the first fifteen years of the era of Metternich.

Against the continuing reaction and narrow class legislation of the Tory government, many-sided opposition arose between 1815 and 1830. The resulting conflict was the parallel in Great Britain to the struggle between liberals and conservatives on the Continent.

**Rising  
Liberalism  
in Britain**

Several factions or classes, for one reason or another, and in this or that respect, opposed the Tory régime. There was, first of all, the group of "radicals," who, like William Godwin (1756-1836),<sup>1</sup> entertained elaborate theories of a complete social readjustment, or, like Thomas Paine, were indoctrinated with the teaching of the French revolutionaries, or, like Jeremy Bentham, labored for a "utilitarian" liberty and democracy. This group lived on, despite governmental attempts to suppress it, recruited mainly from middle-class theorists, small shopkeepers, and self-educated artisans. At one extreme its radicalism appeared in the passionate pleas for liberty and freedom of a Shelley and a Byron, and at the other in the coarse invective of a pugnacious, egotistical pamphleteer like William Cobbett.<sup>2</sup> Of these "radicals" hardly any two were exactly agreed upon a full scheme of reform, but all were of one mind in assailing existing institutions. Many of them advocated a few simple measures in the direction of political democracy such as would seem commonplace if not antiquated to present-day Englishmen and Americans. But by the governing classes and patriotic masses of Great Britain during the era of Metternich, the radicals were deemed unpatriotic and dangerous, and radicalism became almost synonymous with treason. Radicalism is a "spirit," wrote the vicar of Harrow in 1820, "of which the first elements are a rejection of Scripture, and a contempt of all the institutions of your country; and of which the results, unless averted by a merciful Providence, must be anarchy, atheism, and universal ruin."

**The  
"Radicals"**

<sup>1</sup> Godwin's chief writing—*The Inquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793)—taught the perfectibility of man, the inherent evil in every form of government, and the right of every man to the use of the soil. He has been hailed as an early socialist, and, more justly, as the father of modern anarchism. His wife was Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), one of the earliest advocates of feminism. His influence was noteworthy on such men-of-letters as Shelley, Byron, and Bulwer-Lytton.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 715, note.



A second British faction arrayed against the Tory régime was that of the Catholics, who for centuries had been the victims of bigotry and persecution. Reduced to a small minority in England and Scotland, they still constituted a large majority of the inhabitants of Ireland, yet throughout the kingdom they were denied political and civil rights. Few Catholics entertained sympathy for the French Revolution, but in agitating for their own emancipation they found themselves in temporary alliance with the radicals. The Protestant dissenters too, although by no means in such a plight as the Catholics, protested vigorously against a government which forced them to pay tithes for the support of the Anglican Church and which not only excluded them from public office but, always in the interests of the same Anglican Church, refused them a university education.

Thirdly, there was a criticism of the Tory government and its aristocratic policies on the part of middle-class manufacturers who at this time were beginning to use machinery and were becoming wealthy and numerous. Jeremy Bentham's political ideas, as well as Adam Smith's economic doctrines, appealed to them, and their cause was even voiced in parliament by some of the aristocratic (Whig) minority, who used it for political capital against the dominant Tories. Eventually, as we shall later discover, this class of industrialists—raised to an eminent position by the Industrial Revolution—was to supply the ablest and most influential apostles of liberalism.

Finally, among the strange allies of British liberalism, were a large number of the poorest and most ignorant urban working-men, whom the use of new industrial machinery threw out of employment. These workingmen avenged themselves by engaging in riots—the so-called Luddite<sup>1</sup> riots—and attempting to smash the new machines and destroy the new factories. Such riots occurred as early as 1811 and

<sup>1</sup> "The name [Luddite] had a curious origin. More than thirty years before there lived in Leicestershire one Ned Ludd, a man of weak intellect, the village butt. Irritated by his tormentors, the unhappy fellow one day pursued one of them into an adjoining house. He could not find the lad who had been mocking him; but in his fury he broke a couple of stocking frames which were on the premises. When frames were afterwards broken, it was the common saying that Ludd had broken them; and thus Ned Ludd, the village idiot, gave a name to one of the most formidable series of riots of the nineteenth century." (Sir Spencer Walpole.)

reached their climax in 1816; they were sternly suppressed and their leaders put to death. But some of the "radicals" appreciated and sympathized with the plight of the "Luddites," and British workingmen gave numerical strength to the radicals' demand for reform.

The reactionary Tory parliament adopted vigorous methods against radicalism. Following an attack on the prince-regent in 1817, earlier repressive measures were revived and extended. The right of habeas corpus was withdrawn; arbitrary arrest and arbitrary punishment were restored, at least temporarily. Likewise, the freedom of the press was restricted; justices of the peace were instructed to issue warrants for the arrest of any person charged on oath with publishing "blasphemous or seditious libels." Prosecutions ensued so thick and fast that Cobbett, in order to avoid arrest and imprisonment, suspended his newspaper—the fiery, twopenny *Political Register*—and, "deprived of pen, ink, and paper," sailed for America.

**Tory  
Measures  
against  
Liberalism**

Then, following a series of mass meetings of protest, one of which, at Manchester, was broken up by royal troops with the killing of six bystanders and the wounding of many others, the parliament enacted in 1819 the so-called Six Acts—the capstone and crown of reaction in Great Britain. The first of these acts forbade the practice of military exercises by unauthorized persons. The second provided for the speedy trial and drastic punishment of offenders. The third empowered magistrates to issue warrants for the search of arms in private houses. The fourth authorized the seizure of seditious or blasphemous libels and the banishment of their authors. The fifth regulated and restricted the right of public meeting. The sixth subjected all publications below a certain size to the heavy stamp duty on newspapers. With the exception of the third and fifth, all these Six Acts were designed to be permanent.

**The Six  
Acts**

Whereupon, a handful of violent radicals formed in London the "Cato Street conspiracy" (1820) to assassinate the whole Tory cabinet. The conspiracy was discovered and five of its members were hanged. Reaction was supreme. Parliamentary reform seemed dead, and individual liberties appeared to be dying.

Soon, however, liberalism and the demand for reform revived and gathered new strength in Britain. Cobbett returned and

injected new energy into the "radicals." The Catholics found an heroic and gifted champion in Daniel O'Connell. The industrial middle classes, ever growing in numbers, clamored ever more loudly for parliamentary representation and for legislation favorable to the new machine industry; and in their clamors they were backed up by the urban working classes. On the other side, the scandalous domestic difficulties, culminating in an attempted divorce, between George IV and the unhappy Queen Caroline cost the king a good deal of patriotic devotion which he might otherwise have drawn upon for support of his reactionary policy; and the death of Castlereagh in 1822 transferred the direction of the Tory régime to younger colleagues who were less adamant for the *status quo*. Some of these, notably Canning and William Huskisson and Sir Robert Peel, were more interested in commerce than in agriculture, more identified with the newer industrial interests than with the traditional landed interests of the old Tory aristocracy; they could afford to compromise with "liberal" demands.

For example, it was for commercial reasons that Canning, as foreign minister after 1822, emphasized Castlereagh's policy of not coöperating with the Quadruple Alliance and the "Concert of Europe" in international suppression of liberalism. This did not mean that Canning, any more than Castlereagh, was a liberal in the internal affairs of Great Britain. It did mean, however, that Metternich could not count on British assistance against liberalism on the Continent, and it indicated that even reactionary Tories might be pushed along on the highway of liberal reform at home. In fact, towards the close of George IV's reign, the Tory parliament adopted some measures of reform: Protestant dissenters were freed from political disabilities (1828), and Catholics were at last admitted to parliament and to most offices in the government (1829).

Metternich, of course, regretted the unwillingness of Britain to coöperate with him in fighting liberalism in Europe, but he could hardly feel that Great Britain under its Tory régime was championing liberalism at home. Britain was not setting a bad example for would-be revolutionaries in Italy or Germany or Russia; and the old régime of these countries, Metternich felt, must be conserved at any cost.

Turn of  
the Tide  
in Britain  
toward  
Liberalism

Commer-  
cial Con-  
sidera-  
tions and  
British  
Foreign  
Policy

France caused Metternich far greater uneasiness. He knew only too well the havoc which the Revolution had wrought in the old régime of that country and the destruction which the career of Napoleon had threatened to mete out to the old régime of all Europe. He had helped to restore Louis XVIII to the throne of France, but, in the light of what happened when Napoleon returned from Elba, Metternich had no illusions as to Louis's popularity among the French people. He recognized that Louis, to retain his throne, would have to make concessions to liberalism, and yet he dreaded the effect of such concessions on the rest of Europe.

**France,  
the Centre  
of Acute  
Conflict  
between  
Conserva-  
tives and  
Liberals**

When Louis XVIII reëntered Paris twenty days after the final defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, he found a badly divided France. At one extreme were the liberals, comprising not merely revolutionary theorists but certain bourgeois who had been beneficiaries of the abolition of privilege or of the confiscation of large estates and church lands, together with numerous Napoleonic veterans who had fought gloriously under the tricolor and were now desperate in defeat. At the opposite extreme were the conservatives—the reactionaries or “ultra-royalists”—nobles and clergy and old-fashioned folks in the southern and western provinces who had opposed the Revolution and who, dispossessed of their goods and expelled from their fatherland, or silenced by oppression, were now by the turn of events brought back in victory, eager for vengeance.

Between these two extreme factions, Louis XVIII, counting on the support of the French masses, continued after his second restoration, as after his first, to steer a middle course. Although he clung tenaciously to the forms of divine-right monarchy and the lilied white flag of his family, he retained Napoleon's legal and administrative reforms and the Napoleonic institutions of the Legion of Honor, the Bank of France, the concordat, and the system of state-education. He recognized the new imperial nobility as on an equal footing with that of the old régime. He took no step to restore serfdom or feudalism or to undo the nationalist achievements of the French Revolution. He confirmed the charter which he had promulgated in 1814 and which enshrined liberal

**Louis  
XVIII's  
Policy of  
Comprom-  
mise**

principles of representative government, religious freedom, and civil equality.<sup>1</sup>

A fierce complaint went up at once from the French ultra-royalists. They besought the king, now that his very clemency had proved incapable of preventing the wretched episode of the Hundred Days, to revoke the charter, and when he turned a deaf ear to them they wreaked their vengeance on what liberals they could. For several months in 1815 there was a good deal of rioting and bloodshed, which, instigated by the enraged royalists, has passed into history under the designation of the "White Terror." The reactionaries prevailed upon Louis XVIII, in spite of his promise to punish only those who were declared by the Chambers to be traitors, to proscribe nearly sixty persons who had deserted to Napoleon during the Hundred Days. It was the irony of fate that the list was drawn up by the same crafty Fouché who had voted for the death of Louis XVI and had subsequently been the right-hand man of Napoleon in ferreting out royalist conspiracies. Thirty-eight of the proscribed were banished and a few were shot, including the illustrious Marshal Ney.

In southern France hundreds of liberals fell victims to reactionary mobs. At Nîmes, where Protestants had espoused the cause of Napoleon, the murders took the form of a crusade for the extirpation of heresy. The despatch of an army into the affected regions was required to reestablish order and security.

In the midst of the White Terror, elections for the new French parliament were conducted. Many terrified liberals absented themselves from the polls, and the result was the return of a parliament of ultra-royalists, more conservative than the king. The questionable Talleyrand and Fouché were at once turned out of their ministerial posts, and for a year the so-called *chambre introuvable* directed affairs of state in a bitterly reactionary spirit. Laws were passed shackling the press, excepting several classes from amnesty, creating special arbitrary courts for trying cases of treason, and repealing the divorce provisions of the *Code Napoléon*. In 1816 Louis XVIII, fearing the effect of his furious friends upon the country at large, dissolved the *chambre introuvable*, and ordered new elections. This time the majority of the representatives proved to be moderate royalists, loyal to the charter and

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 690-691, 694.

the settlement of 1815 and in full sympathy with the conciliatory efforts of the king, while ultra-royalists and liberals constituted two small but warring minorities.

The years of the moderate royalists' control, from 1816 to 1820, were marked by consistent progress. Reorganization of the public finances was effected. The preparation of an annual budget of estimated expenditure and income, which had been largely farcical under the empire, now became an important part of the routine work of the Chambers. Large loans were floated in order more rapidly to pay off the indemnity to the allied conquerors of France, with such success that, in accordance with arrangements made at the international congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the last foreign troops were withdrawn from French soil in 1818, and France was once more recognized as a great power with a stable government. A new electoral law assured the preponderance of the bourgeoisie in the Lower Chamber by instituting a comparatively simple system of elections and requiring the payment of a sum of only 500 francs a year instead of 1,000 in direct taxes as a qualification for the exercise of the suffrage. Another measure based the recruiting of the French army for the ensuing fifty years upon the principle of national conscription. Finally, a generous press law was enacted. Such legislation and the concurrent maintenance of peace were gradually winning the business classes to the support of the Bourbon dynasty.

**Moderate  
Royalists  
in Control**

The period of liberal legislation was rudely interrupted early in 1820 by the assassination of the king's nephew by a fanatical liberal. The ultra-royalists, who were swept into power on the wave of popular indignation at this outrage, promptly returned, as might have been expected, to a policy of reaction and repression. They suspended the charter guaranties of individual liberty. They reëstablished a strict censorship of the press. They strengthened the hold of the conservative Catholic clergy on the state educational system. In order to retain their majority in the Chamber, they modified the electoral law, by introducing a highly complicated scheme of election, by giving double suffrage to citizens who paid 1,000 francs annually in direct taxes, and by lengthening the duration of a parliament to seven years. They elaborated a system of espionage and employed the army to crush opposition and to

**The Ultra-  
Royalists  
Again in  
Control**

root out such secret revolutionary societies as that of the "Charcoal-Burners" which was spreading from Italy among French liberals. With the approval of Metternich and the Continental powers they went to the length in 1823 of sending a French military expedition into Spain under command of another nephew of Louis XVIII to restore the tyrannical government of the Bourbon king of that country. Strange irony of fate that French arms, which had so recently carried the message of liberty, equality, and fraternity to the peoples of Europe, should be the weapon of divine-right monarchs in behalf of conservatism and reaction! Yet so unreasoning was the patriotic emotion which accompanied military success that the Spanish expedition actually increased the popular prestige of the ultra-royalists in France. When Louis XVIII died in 1824 the Bourbon dynasty seemed to be firmly reëstablished, with conservatism in the ascendant.

The leader of the French ultra-royalists ever since the Bourbon restoration had been the count of Artois, the late king's brother,<sup>1</sup>

**The Con-  
servative  
Charles X  
of France**

who now, as next of kin, succeeded to the throne under the title of Charles X. No family history can be more interesting or instructive than that of the three Bourbon brothers who at different times and under varying circumstances were obliged to deal with revolutionary forces in France—Louis XVI, Louis XVIII, and Charles X. The first-named was well-intentioned, religious, but fatally weak and influenced by others, and he lost his life by the guillotine. The second was hard-hearted, unprincipled, but clever and astute, and in the midst of the struggles of irreconcilable factions he rounded out a not inglorious reign of ten years. The last-named had the political misfortune to resemble more closely the first than the second, save only that he possessed great strength of will and a dogged determination quite distinctive of himself.

It had been the count of Artois who, with Marie Antoinette, had engineered the court intrigues against the Revolution in its earliest stages. It had been he who had headed the emigration of the nobles and clergy when their privileges were threatened by the Revolution. He it was who never tired of agitation against the revolutionaries and against Napoleon; and he it was who, on the triumphant return of his family and of the émigrés, encouraged the ultra-royalists in acts of retaliation. Yet personally he

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 615, 616.

was courteous and kindly, a loyal friend, and sincerely devoted to the cause of religion. Principles he had and cherished: union of the altar and the throne; revival of the institutions of the old régime, political, religious, social, and intellectual; detestation of revolutionary doctrines. "It is only Lafayette and I," he said, "who have not changed since 1789."

With ostentatious pomp becoming the dignity of an absolute divine-right monarch, Charles X was solemnly crowned at Rheims. With the assistance of the ultra-royalist majority in the Chambers he set to work to achieve his purposes. Further restrictions were imposed upon the freedom of the press. Many privileges were restored to the clergy. The Jesuits were allowed to return to France. The penalties for sacrilege and blasphemy were made more severe. An indemnity amounting to a billion francs was promised to the émigrés for the confiscation of their lands and privileges during the Revolution. Even a bill tending to undermine equality of inheritance and to reëstablish the practice of primogeniture was debated. Surely, Metternich at Vienna could rejoice in the 1820's that even the French, under ultra-royalist auspices, were taking long strides toward the realization of the reactionary programme which was defined by a faithful minister of Charles X as "the reorganization of society, the restoration to the clergy of their weight in state affairs, and the creation of a powerful aristocracy surrounded with privileges."

The Con-  
servative  
Pro-  
gramme of  
Charles X

In Spain during the same period neither the reaction nor the opposition to it was so veiled. When Ferdinand VII was restored to his throne in 1814, not through any efforts on his part but rather through the efforts of Wellington and the British and of his own patriotic subjects, he found a robust sense of nationalism and a constitutional government. It will be recalled that in 1812 the provisional *junta*, which was directing the national revolt against Joseph Bonaparte, adopted a written constitution that resembled the French instrument of 1791 both in its limitation of the royal power and in its abolition of feudal rights and class distinctions.<sup>1</sup> This constitution was largely the work of middle-class persons, scholars, theorists, and army officers—persons particularly influenced by the "enlightenment" of the eighteenth century

The Con-  
servative  
Régime of  
Ferdi-  
nand VII  
in Spain

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 681-682.



and by the French Revolution. It had been tolerated by most Spaniards so long as it seemed necessary for the whole nation to present a united front against the French. But as soon as peace was restored and the national independence of the country assured, the nobles and clergy protested vehemently against the constitution. Taking advantage of these protests and of the ignorance or indifference of the mass of the peasantry, Ferdinand VII immediately declared the constitution of 1812 null and void, and abolished the cortes.

Surrounding himself with advisers drawn exclusively from officials of the old régime, the king at once instituted a thoroughly reactionary policy. With him there would be no compromise with revolutionary principles. The old system of absolute government was restored with all its inequalities and injustices. The privileges of the clergy and nobility, including exemption from taxation, were reaffirmed. Monasteries were reopened. The Jesuits were allowed to return. The Inquisition was reëstablished. Individual liberties were taken away, and the press was placed under the strictest censorship. Liberals who had assisted in making the royal restoration possible were arbitrarily arrested and banished or thrown into prison. That not much blood was shed was due partly to the urgent entreaties of Wellington.

In all this Spanish reaction it will be noted that Ferdinand VII pursued a policy quite different from that of his Bourbon cousin, Louis XVIII, in France. Ferdinand was no more unscrupulous than Louis, but he was more vindictive and far less gifted with prudence and foresight. Instead of steering a middle course between extremist factions and seeking to consolidate the whole nation, he threw all his weight on the side of the reactionaries, while against the liberals he took such harsh measures that even Metternich in far-away Vienna, apprehensive of consequences, urged moderation. Instead of striving to repair the injuries inflicted by the Peninsular War and to husband his country's resources, he hampered trade and industry and, in addition, squandered enormous sums of money upon himself and his favorites. Instead of adopting a conciliatory attitude toward the Spanish colonies in America, which already were maintaining governments practically of their own making, instead of redressing their grievances, and bringing them once more into the bond of a great empire, he sorely neglected them at the outset, and, when it

was too late, he endeavored to subjugate them by force of arms. The results of Ferdinand's policy were apparent within five years of his restoration: a Spain hopelessly divided into the two camps of conservatives and liberals, each with its group of irreconcilables; grave scandals and abuses in administration; an army honeycombed with disaffection; a bankrupt treasury; and the American colonies in open, and apparently successful, revolt.

Throughout these five years, liberal agitation grew apace in Spain. Deprived of a free press and of the right of public meeting, the agitators gradually gravitated to such secret societies as the Carbonari and the Freemasons. The lodges were convenient centres of revolutionary propaganda, and their close affiliation and nation-wide extent enabled the liberals, by means of signs and grips and mysterious passwords, to communicate the teachings of liberty, equality, and fraternity to all the brethren. Among the irreligious or anti-clerical element of the middle class, the movement spread,—and likewise among the army officers,—until Spain faced civil war.

**Growth of  
Liberal  
Agitation  
in Spain**

In 1819 a mutiny in the army which the king had assembled at Cadiz for the subjugation of the American colonies was the signal for a general insurrection which in the first two months of 1820 broke out in Seville, Barcelona, Saragossa, and the Asturias. In March, 1820, Ferdinand, quaking with fear, gave his royal oath to support the constitution of 1812 and appealed to the liberals in a pompous declaration: "Let us advance frankly, myself leading the way, along the constitutional path." The insurgents took him at his word and laid down their arms.

**The  
Liberal  
Uprising  
against  
Ferdinand VII**

The king's conversion was merely the reaction of cringing fear upon a cowardly and hypocritical nature. Ferdinand had no serious intention of keeping his pledges, and, although for two years (1820-1822) he was obliged to rule in accordance with the statutes of the newly convened cortes and under the direction of liberal ministers, he was busied, almost from the outset, in countenancing reactionary revolts against the new régime and in inditing confidential letters to the great powers, especially to his Bourbon cousin, the king of France, imploring foreign aid against the very government which he had solemnly sworn to uphold. Success soon crowned his intrigues. The liberals fell to

quarrelling among themselves; the clergy and nobles resisted the execution of reform legislation; the sincere and ardent Catholics—in Spain a goodly number and well disciplined—treated as sacrilege and blasphemy the anti-clerical tendencies of the new parliament. In many districts spasmodic riots became chronic and anarchy prevailed, betokening the advent within Spain of a counter-revolution against liberalism.

In the Spanish revolt of 1820, the reactionary powers of Europe perceived the haunting spectre of revolution. Despite the fact that they had been disgusted with Ferdinand's impolitic behavior, they were terrified by the thought of what the success of the king's enemies might mean to the whole Continent. The Tsar Alexander, who had recently joined Metternich in endorsing the international suppression of liberalism, volunteered, with that sudden and quixotic zeal which characterized his attachment to every newly found principle, to lead a great Russian army across Europe in order to reinstate Bourbon absolutism in Spain. But the French king at once conceived a most violent distaste for the employment of Russian troops even in his own cousin's cause, for he rightly feared the effect on the French nation of the reappearance of foreign troops. Metternich, too, was loath to give Russian soldiers any excuse to cross Austrian territories, and he at once sought to moderate the tsar's enthusiasm. Nevertheless, something must be done. Consequently, in 1822, after protracted international negotiations, the members of the Quadruple Alliance, together with France, held the congress of Verona. It was the opportunity of the reactionaries then in power in France: they proposed that a French army, acting on a general European mandate, should intervene in Spain. Thus by a single stroke France would be spared the humiliation of seeing foreign troops cross her borders; a Bourbon king would be reinstated in absolutism; the cause of reaction would triumph in Spain; and whatever glory might attend French arms would redound to the credit of reaction in France. Metternich gladly accepted the proposal. Great Britain alone objected.

Early in 1823, acting on the recommendation of the congress of Verona, the governments of France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia presented separate notes to the liberal ministry of Spain, expostulating on the anarchical conditions, which they greatly exagger-

**French Intervention in Spain**

ated, and demanding the abolition of the constitution of 1812 and the liberation of the king from the restraints which had been imposed upon him. The Spanish liberals naturally refused and protested against what they deemed an unwarranted interference with the purely domestic affairs of their country; and the French army, under the duke of Angoulême, nephew of Louis XVIII, promptly crossed the Pyrenees.

The French invaders encountered no such difficulties in 1823 as had faced them in 1808. No united nation now opposed them. Indeed, the majority of the Spaniards actually abetted or applauded them, so great was the popular distrust of, or indifference toward, the liberal régime. In May, Angoulême was in possession of Madrid, and the liberal ministry and cortes had fled to Cadiz, taking Ferdinand with them as a hostage. From June to October Cadiz was closely besieged by the French. On 1 October, the liberals released the king on the understanding that he should grant a general pardon and set up a "moderate government." Of course Ferdinand promised—no man was ever more facile with promises than he—and Cadiz immediately capitulated and the liberals again laid down their arms.

No sooner was the king safe within the French lines than he characteristically annulled his promises and pronounced sentence of death upon all "constitutionalists." In vain Angoulême counselled moderation and conciliation. The representatives of Metternich, of the Tsar Alexander, and of timid Frederick William III of Prussia urged vigor to the royal arm, and in cruelty Ferdinand could always be vigorous. There followed in 1824 a reaction throughout Spain far more blind and bitter than that of 1814. Not only were the recent liberal measures abrogated and the old régime again restored in its entirety, but the revolutionaries and the sympathizers with constitutional government were sought out with cunning ingenuity. Hundreds were arbitrarily put to death; hundreds more were exiled or jailed. By the time the French expedition withdrew from the country, Ferdinand VII had broken the back of Spanish liberalism.

Restoration of Ferdinand VII

Somewhat analogous to developments in Spain during the era of Metternich were those in neighboring Portugal. Here, too, there were recurrent conflicts between liberals and conservatives.

It will be recalled that when Napoleonic soldiers invaded Portugal in 1807 the Portuguese royal family had taken refuge in their distant colonial dependency of Brazil <sup>1</sup> and that Great Britain, whose trade relations with Portugal had long been intimate, had then intervened, expelling the French and setting up a provisional government at Lisbon. With the reestablishment of general peace in 1815, the Portuguese royal family continued to reside in Brazil, and the British, for reasons primarily commercial, prolonged their military occupation of the mother-country. It was soon obvious that Portugal was being treated as a mere appendage to Great Britain. Patriotic conservatives, who demanded the return of the king and the expulsion of the foreigners, commenced to make common cause with the liberals, who were recruited from much the same classes as in Spain and who had learned the revolutionary doctrines of liberty, equality, and fraternity in much the same way. Lord Beresford, the British governor, crushed several incipient rebellions, but in 1820, during his absence from the country, the Portuguese army, following the example of their Spanish neighbors, overthrew the regency. The liberals thereupon gained the upper hand and promulgated a constitution similar in almost every respect to the Spanish constitution of 1812. The next year King John VI, entrusting the government of Brazil to his elder son, Dom Pedro, returned to Portugal and in 1822 swore obedience to the constitution.

At once the Portuguese conservatives protested and found a leader in Dom Miguel, the king's younger son. In 1823 King John, reassured by the armed support which France was giving to absolutism in Spain, revoked the constitution. Even this concession did not stay Dom Miguel's followers from attacking him, and the united action of the Concert of Europe was required to restore the king. On the death of John VI in 1826, his successor, Pedro IV, granted to the Portuguese people a charter which provided for moderate parliamentary government on the model of the French charter of 1814, and then surrendered his Portuguese crown to his daughter Maria, a little girl seven years of age, on the understanding that she should become the wife of her uncle, Dom Miguel. Accordingly Miguel swore allegiance to Pedro, to Maria,

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 674-675.

and to the constitutional charter, but on his arrival at Lisbon in 1828 he promptly repudiated his promises and, with the support of the conservative majority in the country, he reigned as sole and absolute king until 1834. Miguel's admiration for Metternich, which he had conceived during a three years' residence in Vienna, combined with his natural cruelty and his dissipated habits to render his reactionary rule in Portugal as tyrannical and mean as that of Ferdinand VII in Spain.

#### 5. LIBERAL SUCCESSES IN SOUTHERN EUROPE AND AMERICA

From the foregoing outline of conflicts which occurred during the decade after 1815 in most European countries between liberals and conservatives, it must be apparent that conservatives were generally successful. Certainly, Metternich during that decade had conserved the old régime in the Habsburg Empire, in Prussia, and in Russia; he had used the Concert of Europe to repress liberalism in Germany, Italy, Spain, and Portugal; he had watched with satisfaction the resurrection of conservatism in France; and, while regretting the selfish withdrawal of Great Britain from the reactionary "Concert of Europe," he had been gratified by constant evidence of the basic sound conservatism which actuated the Tory government at home.

Yet the demons of individual liberty, social equality, and nationalism were not entirely exorcised. Especially in southern Europe they were ceaselessly active. Metternich had had to use Austrian troops against them in Naples in 1820 and in Piedmont in 1821, and to employ a French army to quell them in Spain and Portugal in 1823. In these regions they were driven underground, but Metternich knew that they might reappear there at any moment. And in the meantime he saw the same demons virulently at work in southeastern Europe—among the Yugoslavs and the Greeks—and likewise in the South American colonies of Spain and Portugal; and the stories which he heard of liberal unrest in France and the southern Netherlands made him anxious about still wider activity of those very demons. Metternich recognized that the repression of revolution throughout southern Europe and America would require not only eternal vigilance on his part but also loyal coöperation on the part of the "Concert of Europe."

The "Concert of Europe" was already weakening. Great Britain, devotedly conservative at home, was becoming liberal abroad. Not even a Tory government could afford to withhold recognition from a foreign régime, liberal or even revolutionary, which promised to advance British commerce; and the British foreign secretaries—Castlereagh before 1822 and George Canning after 1822—frankly opposed Metternich's policy of intervention. To the international congress which Metternich assembled at Verona in 1822, Canning sent word that "while England was no friend to revolution, she did emphatically insist on the right of nations to set up for themselves whatever form of government they thought best, and to be left free to manage their own affairs, so long as they left other nations to manage theirs." Such an attitude on the part of the British foreign secretary meant serious weakness in the Quadruple Alliance and serious damage to Metternich's chief instrument for the suppression of liberalism.

**Britain's  
Separation  
from the  
Concert of  
Europe**

Despite the British attitude, Metternich, with the spiritual encouragement of Tsar Alexander of Russia and the military force of King Louis XVIII of France, succeeded, as we have seen, in stopping revolution and curbing liberalism in Spain and Portugal in 1823. But he could not stop revolution or curb liberalism in the oversea empires of Spain and Portugal. Alexander of Russia was willing, and Louis XVIII of France was not unwilling, but what could they—or Metternich—do overseas against the opposition of Canning and the British navy?

**The Prob-  
lem of Sup-  
pressing  
Liberalism  
in Latin  
America**

For two decades—from 1810 to 1830—revolution was occurring in Spanish America. Its roots were fourfold. First, some of the upper-class Spanish colonists had become infected, through reading or sojourn in Europe, with the "enlightened" political philosophy of the eighteenth century and had been inspired by the successful revolt of the English colonies in North America and by the example of the French Revolution with a desire to free themselves from the mother-country and to set up independent republics in Spanish America. Second, the long latent feeling of the native peasants, Indian or half-breed, against their Spanish rulers was exploited by certain leaders among them, particularly priests, who were actuated by humanitarian or radical sentiments and

**Reasons  
for the Re-  
volt of the  
Spanish  
Colonies  
in America**

who sought to effect social changes. Third, the troubled conditions in Spain during the Napoleonic era—the quarrel between Charles IV and Ferdinand VII, the conflict between Joseph Bonaparte and the revolutionary juntas, the fighting between French and English—gave rise to disputes concerning the authority of Spanish governors in America and enabled ambitious colonial leaders to direct affairs in Mexico, New Granada, Peru, and Buenos Aires without direct reference to Madrid. Fourth, the Spanish colonists, having become accustomed during the Napoleonic era to free trade with Great Britain, were not minded during the ensuing era to return to the old mercantilist system of Spain and to exclude British goods from their ports; and in such commercial disobedience they were encouraged by British traders and even by the British government.

As early as 1806 colonial patriots in the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata (Argentina), acting on their own initiative and without assistance from the nominal Spanish viceroy, had expelled from Buenos Aires an invading British expedition; while in Venezuela a patriot by the name of Francisco Miranda, who had served under Washington in the War of American Independence and under Dumouriez in the War of the French Revolution, undertook with British aid to overthrow Spanish rule and create a republic. By 1810, unrest and revolt were widespread throughout Spanish America. In the viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico), a humble Catholic priest of Indian race, Miguel Hidalgo, led thousands of peasants in an uprising against colonial landlords and Spanish government. In Argentina, the colonial patriots established a local committee (or *junta*) as a provisional government and adopted a blue and white national flag. In Chile, a similar revolutionary *junta* was set up, including an able military leader, Bernardo O'Higgins, the son of a former governor of Chile and viceroy of Peru. In Venezuela and the viceroyalty of New Granada, Miranda resumed his seditious efforts, this time with the zealous coöperation of Simon Bolivar, a young man of an aristocratic family at Caracas who as a student in Spain had imbibed revolutionary and republican doctrines and had taken an oath to "liberate" all Spanish America.

**Beginning  
of the  
Revolution  
in Spanish  
America**

These revolutionary disturbances were at first largely repressed by royalists and reactionaries among the Spanish colonists in



America. Hidalgo was captured, tried by the Inquisition, and put to death in Mexico in 1811, and another priest, Morelos, who speedily incited a similar insurrection, suffered a like fate in 1815. Miranda was taken prisoner in 1812 and perished miserably in a dungeon at Cadiz four years later. The Chilean *junta* was overthrown in 1814, and O'Higgins fled to Argentina. In the same year, Bolivar was chased out of New Granada and took refuge in Haiti.

Repression, however, only served to fan the flame of discontent and revolutionary activity. To the assistance of the *junta* at Buenos Aires came in 1812 José de San Martin, a peculiarly unselfish colonial patriot and leader, who had been educated in Spain for a military career and had acquired military experience in the Spanish national war against Napoleon. Under San Martin's guidance, Argentina was cleared of royalist opposition and in 1816 was formally proclaimed an independent republic. Whereupon, San Martin, in coöperation with O'Higgins, carried the struggle against Spain into Chile and Peru. Chile's national independence was secured in 1818. In 1821 Lima was captured by San Martin and Peru's independence was declared. In the meantime, Paraguay had asserted its national independence (1811) and had entrusted dictatorial powers to José Francia, who had been trained in law and theology but who had become anti-clerical and aspired to be a Napoleon Bonaparte in his own country.

Meanwhile, too, Bolivar returned to Venezuela (1817), and, with the support of a motley army of Spanish colonials and Indian peasants and of a daredevil "foreign legion" of English, Irish, and American adventurers and veterans of the Napoleonic wars, and by dint of the most amazing feats, he earned his title of "liberator." Bolivar was instrumental in the creation (1819) of the independent republic of Colombia, embracing New Granada, Panama, Venezuela, and Quito (Ecuador), in the completion of the work of San Martin in freeing Peru (1824), and in the erection of "Upper Peru" into still another independent republic which was named Bolivia in his own honor (1825). The "liberator" subsequently suffered grievous disappointments from quarrels among his lieutenants and ingratitude among the "liberated," and when he died in 1830 his own state of Colombia was already breaking up into the three separate and

quarrelsome republics of Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Yet his achievements against Spanish rule in America were lasting, and his tomb in his native Caracas is a shrine for all Spanish Americans and others who still cherish the principles of the French Revolution.

To the successful revolts and revolutions in South America were added those in other parts of Spanish America. Florida, a prey to domestic disturbances and to attacks by the United States or England after 1810, was ceded to the United States in 1819. Santo Domingo (the eastern part of the island of Hispaniola) rebelled against Spain in 1821 and was conquered by the negro republic of Haiti (in the western part of the island) in the following year. In Mexico, after the failure of the peasant insurrections of Hidalgo and Morelos, the conservative Spanish colonists took matters into their own hands and established in 1821 an empire, with Iturbide, an ex-officer of the Spanish army, as emperor. Simultaneously, the Spanish colony of Guatemala—then embracing all of Central America—revolted and was incorporated in Iturbide's Mexican empire. This empire, however, was short-lived. In 1823 a more radical revolution disrupted it: Iturbide was overthrown and executed; Central America seceded and formed an independent union of its own; and Mexico adopted a republican constitution.

Of course, not all Spanish colonists in America were fully in sympathy with the principles of revolution, and nowhere in Spanish America were the revolutionary achievements sufficiently radical to redress the social and economic grievances of the lower classes. Moreover, the doctrinaires and soldiers of fortune who had made the revolution quarrelled and fought with one another almost incessantly. Theoretically, several new national states were emerging with republican and democratic constitutions; actually, there was a bewildering succession of self-made dictators. Yet King Ferdinand VII of Spain could not utilize any of these circumstances to reestablish his authority in the New World. He wished to do so; and Metternich and the Tsar Alexander pressed him to do so. But the expeditionary force which he assembled at Cadiz for the reconquest of his overseas colonial empire was itself too honey-combed with liberalism. It mutinied, as we have seen, in 1819 and precipitated the revolutionary régime of 1820-1823

**Iturbide**

**Inability  
of Spain  
to Sup-  
press the  
Revolution**

within Spain. By the time Metternich had brought about foreign intervention and the restoration of the old régime in Spain, the way to intervention and restoration in Spanish America was effectually barred by Great Britain—and the United States.

British traders and manufacturers believed that their newly flourishing business with Spanish America would be cut off if Spain should recover her political and economic control overseas, and Canning, the British foreign minister, who espoused their cause, found a valuable ally in the United States. The purpose of the United States in the matter was different from Great Britain's, for, whereas Great Britain was motivated almost wholly by commercial considerations, the United States was chiefly impelled by apprehension lest Metternich's policy of intervention, if applied in Spanish America, might in time be extended to English America. Regardless of purpose, however, the aim of the two English-speaking countries was the same: the "liberation" of the Spanish colonies and the prevention of foreign intervention in their internal affairs. With this aim in view, and with the backing of the British government, the United States in 1822 formally recognized the national independence of Colombia, Chile, Argentina, and Mexico.

Then in December, 1823, at the very time when French troops at the behest of Metternich and the Continental European powers were in occupation of Spain, the President of the United States, James Monroe, acting with the foreknowledge and friendly assurances of George Canning, made to the American Congress a celebrated pronouncement, which has since been known as the Monroe Doctrine. "In the wars of the European powers," he said, "in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers [Austria, Russia, and Prussia] is essentially different in this respect from that of America. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare

that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies and dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

The year following this remarkable declaration by Monroe, Great Britain formally acknowledged the independence of Mexico and Colombia; and her recognition of the independence of the other Spanish-American states was only temporarily withheld. Metternich ruefully abandoned all hope of using the Concert of Europe for the suppression of liberalism beyond the seas, and Spain made no further efforts to subdue her colonies, although she long delayed full recognition of their freedom. The example of the American and French Revolutions, the ambition of Napoleon Bonaparte, the fatuity of Ferdinand VII, the commercial interests of Great Britain, and the political principles of the United States had combined with the revolutionary efforts of such Spanish Americans as Miranda, Bolivar, and San Martin to supplant the colonial dominion of Spain on the American continents with some ten new republics.

**Recognition of the Independence of Spanish-American Republics**

Portuguese America, like Spanish America, underwent successful revolution in the era of Metternich, though with a somewhat different outcome. The great expanse of Brazil in South America had been a dependency of Portugal since the sixteenth century, and when Napoleon invaded the mother-country in 1807 the Portuguese royal family betook themselves to Brazil and established their court at Rio de Janeiro. John VI, who assumed the title of "king of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves" in 1816, endeavored to quiet the revolutionary unrest which was penetrating Portuguese America from adjacent Spanish America by treating Brazilians as citizens rather than as colonials, by permitting them to trade freely with foreigners, and by introducing reforms in government:

**Revolution in Portuguese America**

and when he returned to Portugal in 1821, he left his elder son, Dom Pedro, as regent in Brazil. Almost immediately an influential group of Brazilians, incensed by the king's departure and inspired by the contemporary erection of independent states in Spanish America, rebelled against the Portuguese government at Lisbon, and, finding themselves supported by the regent, proclaimed him Pedro I of the independent empire of Brazil (1822). The Emperor Pedro promptly granted a liberal constitution, and in 1826 Portugal formally recognized the independence of Brazil. The Brazilian Empire lasted, under its nominally liberal constitution, from 1822 to 1889. It was another instance of revolutionary success at the expense of the reaction associated with Metternich.

**The Independent Empire of Brazil**

**The Revolt of the Serbs against the Ottoman Empire**

At the very time when in America liberalism was being championed and national independence achieved by Spanish and Portuguese peoples whose original homes had been in southwestern Europe, two peoples of southeastern Europe—Serbs and Greeks—obtained similar successes. The Serbs, with Russian backing, had revolted against the Ottoman Empire during the Napoleonic era, and for a brief time in 1812 they had maintained a government of their own at Belgrade under the redoubtable Karageorge.<sup>1</sup> And, though the Ottoman sultan regained Belgrade while Russia was fighting Napoleon, and though Karageorge was driven into exile and killed by a Serb rival, the restored Turkish régime was so harsh and arbitrary that it speedily invited the recurrence of rebellion in Serbia. In 1815 Miloš Obrenović, a peasant who had begun life as a cattle-drover and had served under Karageorge, headed a new revolt, and two years later, having had Karageorge murdered, he won from the Turks a grudging recognition of his election as "supreme prince" of Serbia. Thenceforth, while nominally an agent of the Ottoman sultan, Prince Miloš did everything in his power to prepare the Serbian people, and to obtain Russian assistance, for a war of national liberation.

Serbian developments did not attract much attention immediately. Metternich thought them insignificant, and the Tsar Alexander perceived in them no advantage to Russia. Soon, however, there were Greek developments which troubled Alexander

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 705-708.

and disturbed Metternich. While these exponents of reaction and "legitimacy" were attending the international congress at Laibach in 1821, news came that the Greek governor of the Ottoman province of Moldavia, Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, had just raised the standard of revolt and was confidently expecting aid from Russia. Metternich, alarmed, at once made appropriate representations to the tsar, and the tsar promptly disowned Ypsilanti. The revolt in Moldavia was easily suppressed by the Turks; and Metternich had the pleasure of confining the Greek leader in an Austrian prison for seven years.

**The Revolt  
of the  
Greeks  
against the  
Ottoman  
Empire**

But this was not the end of the Greek revolt; it was only a premature beginning. Earlier agitation of such Greek patriots as Rhigas and Korais was producing more and more fruit; such a nationalist secret society as *Hetairia Philike*<sup>1</sup> was rapidly enrolling members; and the theatrical display by a Greek prince in Moldavia was quickly succeeded by a national uprising in the Greek peninsula and in the Greek islands of the Ægean. The Turks, this time taken unprepared and slaughtered in large numbers, had recourse to savage reprisals. The Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople was murdered, and a wholesale massacre of Christians was ordered in Macedonia and Asia Minor. The utmost ferocity marked the struggle on both sides. Yet Metternich was obdurate about helping the Greeks. In his opinion they were revolutionaries and rebels against their "legitimate" sovereign, and he cynically remarked that their revolt should be allowed "to burn itself out beyond the pale of civilization."

Nevertheless, the Greek revolt appealed to the imagination and enthusiasm of Europe as nothing else could. Classicists saw in it a revival of the ancient glories of Hellas. Romanticists perceived in it a valorous struggle for national independence. Liberals beheld in it a popular uprising for liberty and democracy. Conservatives pictured it as the climax of the long series of crusades by civilized Christians against barbarous Moslems. Youthful volunteers flocked to the Greek standard from every country of Europe. Delacroix painted sentimental pictures of Greek exploits and sufferings, and Lord Byron gave pen, fortune, and life for the cause of Greek independence.

**Popular  
Sympathy  
of Europe  
for the  
Greeks**

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 707.

Popular sentiment, whether liberal or conservative, was overwhelmingly in favor of the Greek insurgents, not only in France and Great Britain, but, even more ominously, in Russia also. Political ambition of the tsars and a succession of wars had made Russians and Turks hereditary enemies, while community of religion and culture linked the Russian and Greek peoples together. Consequently, it was with some difficulty that Alexander, now a most faithful henchman of Metternich, restrained his own subjects from giving aid to revolutionaries and managed until his death in 1825 to steer Russia in "legitimist" channels.

Meanwhile the Greeks, contrary to foreign expectation and despite chronic domestic feuds, were more than holding their own against the Turks. But just about the time of Alexander's death, the sultan, resolving upon a final drastic effort to subjugate his rebellious subjects, called to his assistance Ibrahim Pasha, the son of his vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt. Then for three years Ibrahim operated in the Greek peninsula with energy and ferocity. He easily defeated the Greeks in the open field, and, when hostile bands harassed his army, he took revenge by desolating the country and sending thousands of the Christian inhabitants into slavery in Egypt. The resulting indignation throughout Europe decided Alexander's successor, the Tsar Nicholas I, to close his ear to the counsels of Metternich. In July, 1827, representatives of Great Britain, France, and Russia signed the treaty of London, agreeing to demand an armistice as preliminary to the settlement of the Greek question; and in October, after the sultan had refused to accept mediation, the combined fleets of the new allies destroyed the Turco-Egyptian squadron in the harbor of Navarino. The battle of Navarino was decisive in that it rendered hopeless any further efforts of the Turks to suppress the Greek revolt, and also in that it registered a distinct setback to Metternich's policy. Even the Russian tsar was openly backing rebels against "legitimacy."

Tsar Nicholas proceeded to give free rein to the sympathies and patriotism of his subjects. In 1828 he formally declared war against the Ottoman Empire and the next year a Russian army, with some assistance from Miloš Obrenović and his Serbs, fought its way almost to Constantinople, and obliged the sultan to sign the treaty of Adrian-

**Foreign  
Interven-  
tion in Be-  
half of the  
Greeks**

**Russo-  
Turkish  
War**

ople—a treaty of first-rate importance in the history of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. By the settlement, the sultan virtually acknowledged the independence of Greece; granted practical autonomy to Serbia<sup>1</sup> and likewise to the Rumanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia; surrendered claims on Georgia and other provinces of the Caucasus to Russia; and recognized the exclusive jurisdiction of Russian consuls over Russian traders in Turkey.

The  
Treaty of  
Adrianople

An international conference in London subsequently fixed the Greek frontier at a line running from the Gulf of Volo on the east to Arta on the west,<sup>2</sup> and in 1832 Prince Otto of Bavaria became the first constitutional king of Greece. The new kingdom embraced a comparatively small minority of the Greek-speaking people, but in spite of its diminutive size and of the poverty and political feuds which long afterwards distracted it, it was a very real example of how, even despite Metternich's fulminations, nationalism and liberalism might bear fruit.

The Inde-  
pendent  
Liberal  
Kingdom  
of Greece

Meanwhile, there were striking liberal successes in more strategic parts of southern Europe—in France and the southern Netherlands. In France the reactionary rule of Charles X had been growing more and more unpopular. As it became increasingly obvious that the king was bent upon being an absolute sovereign in fact as well as in name and that ultra-royalist control meant additional class legislation in behalf of the clergy and the nobility, the bourgeoisie and many of the workingmen gave louder utterance to grumbling and fault-finding. The less well-to-do bourgeois were excluded from participation in government by the heavy property qualifications; the numerous irreligious bourgeois were angered by the honors shown the Catholic Church; and, to cap the climax, the wealthy bourgeois had a most galling economic grievance against the ultra-royalists. It will be recalled that the chambers had authorized in 1825 the indemnifying of the émigrés to the amount of one billion francs for the losses which they had sustained during the Revolution. The means employed for paying the indemnity were curious. Knowing that it would be impossible

Mounting  
Liberal  
Opposition  
in France  
to  
Charles X

<sup>1</sup> Miloš Obrenović was recognized as "hereditary prince" of Serbia.

<sup>2</sup> In 1832 the frontier was pushed still farther south, to a line drawn from the Gulf of Arta to the Gulf of Lamia.



to restore such a huge capital sum to the nobles, the government hit upon the plan of funding the entire public debt of the nation at a materially lower rate of interest and of paying the amount thereby saved in the form of annuities to the émigrés. In other words, the middle-class holders of government bonds suddenly found their annual income reduced by a third for the benefit of a crowd of "grasping and traitorous aristocrats." It was this financial transaction more than any other fact which sealed the doom of divine-right monarchy in France. Men of business were henceforth arrayed with Napoleonic veterans and liberal idealists against the conservative régime of Charles X.

After the elections of 1827 had reflected the public feeling by depriving the ultra-royalists of their majority in the lower chamber, the king made temporary personal concessions by appointing moderates to office. But that he was steadfast against making any concession of principle was fully apparent in 1829, when, in the face of an adverse vote of the chambers, he entrusted the premiership to Prince de Polignac, one of the former émigrés, a person as obstinate as he was reactionary.

The issue was clear. It was a conflict between the king and his conservative minister on one side, and the liberal chamber, supported by the bourgeoisie, on the other. In vain did the government endeavor to make the nation forget the domestic conflict by intervening in behalf of Greek independence and by sending an expedition to seize Algiers and to chastise the Barbary pirates. The chamber simply persisted in voting "lack of confidence" in the ministry and in referring to the rights guaranteed by the Charter of 1814. Liberal newspapers applauded the chamber and openly criticized the king.

In the spring of 1830 Charles X dissolved the chamber which still demanded the dismissal of the Polignac ministry, but the new elections returned a chamber even more hostile to reaction than its predecessor. The king replied on 26 July, 1830, with the publication of four arbitrary ordinances: (1) the rights of the press were to be most carefully restricted; (2) the newly elected chamber, which had not as yet assembled, was dissolved; (3) a new electoral law was promulgated which disfranchised at least three fourths of the electors, mostly troublesome bourgeois; and (4) new elections were called for September.

**The Ordinances of Charles X**

On the very day of publication of these ordinances, the liberal printers and journalists, eager to reassert the sovereignty of the people against that of the Bourbons, incited all classes of Paris to armed insurrection. After three days of street-fighting against a mere handful of royalist troops who were ill-prepared and feebly led, the Parisian workingmen, driven to the barricades by the deliberate closing of the workshops by their liberal proprietors, gained a victory. Charles X abdicated in favor of his ten-year-old grandson, the count of Chambord, and took refuge in England.

**The July  
(1830)  
Revolution  
at Paris**

The "July Days" of 1830, with slight bloodshed, put an end to divine-right monarchy in France. What political system should take its place became at once a subject of heated debate. On the one hand there still survived a republican party, recruited chiefly among the students and the Parisian workingmen, led by Godefroi Cavaignac, and desirous of reëstablishing the republic of 1795; it had small support in the country districts or among persons of prominence in Paris. On the other hand were the bourgeois liberals, admirably led by Adolphe Thiers, a journalist, and Laffitte, a great banker, and quite willing to accept royalty, provided it should be constitutional rather than absolute and should permit them actually to rule the country; they counted on the sympathy of all Frenchmen who desired "order" as well as "liberty."

An armed conflict between the two parties was at one time imminent. It was averted by the aged Lafayette, who once more appeared on the scene and exerted his influence to persuade the republicans to accept the plan already formulated by the liberal monarchists. The plan provided for the accession to the throne by popular acclaim of Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans. This prince was a member of the Bourbon family, but, being the son of that Philippe Égalité<sup>1</sup> who had voted in the Convention for the death of Louis XVI, he was presumed to have no sympathy for traditional Bourbon principles. Louis Philippe had taken an eager part in the Revolution of 1789. He had been present at the capture of the Bastille. He had been enrolled in the Jacobin Club and had held military office under the republic. He had fought at Valmy and in the Netherlands. He

**Deposition  
of  
Charles X  
and Acces-  
sion of  
Louis  
Philippe**

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 630.

had learned lessons of sturdy self-reliance during a long and adventurous exile in Europe and America. More recently he had made himself popular with the middle class by sending his sons to middle-class schools and by avowing his own faith in the opinions of Voltaire and Rousseau.

Early in August, 1830, Louis Philippe accepted the invitation of the chamber to become "King of the French." The revolutionary tricolor at once replaced the white flag of the Bourbons, and the theory of popular sovereignty supplanted that of monarchical absolutism. But the most momentous result of the July Revolution in France was the triumph of the bourgeoisie. It was this class which had shaped the course of the great Revolution of 1789, which had saved its conquests from the Parisian workingmen in 1794, and which had felt itself again endangered by the privileged orders from 1815 to 1830. It was the same class which now put a reactionary king to flight, which stilled a revolutionary proletariat, and which definitely seized the reins of government itself. To the question asked in 1814 whether French political and social institutions were to be restored as they had been before the Revolution, the movement of 1830 constituted a categorical negative.

The suddenness and success of the July Revolution in France sent an immediate tremor throughout Europe. Conservatives were alarmed, and liberals took heart. In the Netherlands, in Germany, in Italy, in Poland, and in Switzerland, the shock of the movement was felt. Confronted with such widespread disturbances, Metternich had to abandon all thought of uniting Europe and forcing "legitimacy" once more upon France.

In the southern (Belgian) Netherlands, the revolutionary disturbances produced liberal results. Friction between Belgians and Dutch had been acute since the congress of Vienna had arbitrarily joined them in one state. They had divergent interests and they were proudly conscious of separate nationality. The Dutch were traditionally hostile to the French; they were mainly Protestant; and they were largely engaged in agriculture and commerce. The Belgians, on the other hand, were French in sympathy, overwhelmingly Catholic in religion, and industrial in occupation.

**The Triumph of Middle-Class**

**Liberalism in France**

**Metternich's Inability to Intervene in France**

**Opposition of Belgian Liberals to their Conservative Dutch King**

The pig-headed Dutch king, William I, contrived to annoy all classes of his Belgian subjects. He outraged their patriotism by imposing upon them Dutch law, Dutch language, and Dutch officials. He irritated Catholics by placing education under the control of Protestant inspectors. He alienated liberals by restricting the freedom of the press. He angered the business men by forcing them to contribute a disproportionately large amount of taxes towards the interest on the heavy Dutch debt.

Matters came to a crisis in Brussels when the success of the Parisian insurrection was appreciated. Barricades were thrown up in the streets, unpopular ministers were assailed, and a national guard was formed. At first the rioters demanded only a separate legislature under the common king. But when they found William stubbornly determined to subdue them, they proclaimed the complete independence of Belgium (October, 1830).

**The 1830  
Revolution  
at Brussels**

International politics at the time favored the Belgian cause. Lord Palmerston, the new British foreign secretary, followed in the steps of Canning as a promoter of advantageous commercial treaties (and consequently as a champion of small nationalities). He recommended to the foreign representatives in London that Belgian independence be promptly recognized. The government of Louis Philippe, itself reposing on a revolutionary basis, was naturally quite favorable to such a course. Metternich was so occupied with disorders in Italy and in Germany, and the Tsar Nicholas with a formidable Polish uprising, that neither could interpose any serious objection. The Prussian king was duly intimidated by French threats. Under these circumstances an international agreement was reached at London in 1831, whereby Belgium was erected into an independent state, with a constitutional king in the person of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. It still required a naval blockade of Dutch ports by the British fleet and the capture of Antwerp by a French military expedition before the House of Orange could be induced to evacuate Belgium, and it was not until 1839 that King William I assented to the final treaty of peace and amity. At this time the independence and neutrality of Belgium were guaranteed by all the great powers of Europe—Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

**The Independent  
Liberal  
Kingdom  
of Belgium**

By this time, even Metternich was resigned to the triumph of nationalism and liberalism in a large part of southern Europe: in France and Belgium, in Greece and Serbia, in the former colonial empire of Portugal and Spain. He fully recognized that the separation of Great Britain and France from his repressive Concert of Europe was final, and for countries where the interests of those powers were predominant he abandoned all hope of preserving peace and the old régime through international coöperation and force.

Only in Italy, of all southern Europe, did Metternich continue to stave off liberal successes. Here and in central and northern Europe he could still count, for some years after 1830, on the earnest collaboration of the divine-right monarchs of Austria, Russia, and Prussia in conserving the political, social, and religious institutions of the Europe which he had known in his boyhood, before the fateful French Revolution.

#### 6. CONSERVATIVE SUCCESSES IN CENTRAL AND NORTHERN EUROPE

So firm was Metternich's hold on the varied Austrian dominions that the revolutionary disturbances of 1830 at Paris and Brussels evoked no echo at Vienna, Prague, Budapest, Venice, or Milan. There was, it is true, a reverberation in parts of Germany, and in Italy outside of his immediate jurisdiction, but in these areas Austrian power and prestige were speedily employed to still the noise and safeguard conservatism.

In Germany, demonstrations and riots of liberals in 1830-1831 scared the king of Saxony, the king of Hanover,<sup>1</sup> and the elector of Hesse into promulgating constitutions similar to the French Charter of 1814. But before long, Metternich's assurances dispelled the alarm of these German princes: the elector of Hesse and the king of Hanover annulled the concessions which they had made,

<sup>1</sup> Hanover, it should be borne in mind, had been joined in a "personal" union with Great Britain since 1714; that is, the "limited" king of Great Britain had been "absolute" elector (then king) of Hanover. In 1833 King William IV. of

and the king of Saxony, though not revoking the constitution, entrusted its execution to ministers who were staunchly conservative.

Of the Italian states, both Naples and Piedmont, which had suffered the discomfiture of Austrian intervention in 1821, now remained quiet, but liberals in the central states, counting on the support of the new French king, rebelled against their autocratic and foreign rulers. In the papal states they raised a new tricolor of Italian democracy and nationalism (the red, white, and green, which subsequently became the flag of the kingdom of Italy) and readily shook off (1831) the temporal rule of the newly elected Pope Gregory XVI, a convinced reactionary and admirer of Austria. There were similar outbreaks in Parma and Modena against the Habsburg sovereigns who, thinking discretion the better part of valor, betook themselves hurriedly to Vienna. Under Metternich's auspices Austrian troops were promptly rushed into Italy: the old governments were easily reestablished, and many revolutionaries were hanged. Louis Philippe, who had grandly declared not only that he would refrain from meddling in the affairs of other countries, but that he would not permit other powers to intervene, limited his protection of Italy against Metternich to stationing a French garrison in the papal town of Ancona.<sup>1</sup>

Suppression of Liberal Uprising in Italy

On the other side of the Austrian dominions—within the vast Russian Empire—Metternich knew that conservatism was secure.

Great Britain promulgated a constitution for Hanover in his capacity of king of this German state. On his death in 1837, however, the "personal" union between Hanover and Britain was dissolved: Victoria became queen of the latter, but, being a woman, she was precluded from succeeding to the former; her uncle became king of Hanover and utilized the occasion, and Metternich's backing, to annul the constitution which William IV had granted.

<sup>1</sup> This French force, which gave umbrage to the pope as well as to the liberals, was not withdrawn until 1838.

It should be noted, further, that in Switzerland the revolutionary unrest of 1830 gave a marked impetus to uprisings of small towns and villages against the oligarchical rule of head-cities and led to a civil war between conservative cantons and liberal cantons, a war which was embittered by religious quarrels and was not decided in favor of liberalism and a closer union until 1847.

He had observed the complete conversion of the Tsar Alexander to reaction, and there was no need of any such conversion in the case of Alexander's brother and successor, Nicholas I (1825-1855). Nicholas had never entertained any sympathy for liberalism, and the Decembrist revolt against him at the time of his accession could but strengthen his horror of revolution. He did lend aid in 1827-1829, as we have seen, to the revolutionary Greeks, in coöperation with Great Britain and France and against the wishes of Metternich, but Nicholas's conduct in this matter was dictated not by any romantic feeling for liberty or any altruistic regard for the principle of nationality but simply by what he deemed the necessary purpose of traditional Russian policy—the expansion, at Turkish expense, of the influence of the autocratic tsar and the Orthodox Church.

The true attitude of the Tsar Nicholas toward liberalism and nationalism was unmistakably evidenced in 1830-1831, when the inhabitants of his constitutional kingdom of Poland took arms in behalf of those principles. It was almost inconceivable that a Russian absolutist monarch could be a Polish constitutional king, and since the accession of Nicholas I difficulties had increased. At length in November, 1830, the long existing sympathy between Poles and Frenchmen and the spread of a rumor that the tsar intended to use his Polish regiments to coerce the new liberal French king and put down the Belgian insurrection, inspired a mutiny at Warsaw. Rebellious Poles killed a number of objectionable Russian officials, expelled Nicholas's viceroy, the Grand-Duke Constantine, and proclaimed the independence of their country. Nicholas at once despatched a Russian army against Poland, and the ensuing war lasted from January to September, 1831. The Poles fought gallantly, but their defense was paralyzed by lack of munitions and by factional feuds, and they were eventually overwhelmed. In vain they appealed for foreign assistance. The fact that both Austria and Prussia had Polish subjects rendered these powers hostile to an independent Poland, and in the circumstances neither Louis Philippe of France nor the British government did anything more than to expostulate with the tsar concerning alleged "atrocities" of the Russian army.

**The Conservatism of the Tsar Nicholas I**

**The Tsar's Suppression of the Polish Uprising of 1831**

As soon as the revolt was crushed, Nicholas proceeded to inflict exemplary punishment upon the Poles. He abrogated the liberal constitution which his brother had granted in 1815 and incorporated the "kingdom of Poland" as a conquered province in the Russian Empire. He put hundreds of Poles to death and exiled other hundreds. He filled the land with Russian soldiers and sought in every way to extirpate Polish nationalism.

**End of the  
Constitutional  
Kingdom  
of Poland**

Thus it transpired that in 1831, while France and England were conniving at successful rebellion in Belgium, the Tsar Nicholas of Russia, with the hearty approbation of Austria and Prussia, was mercilessly suppressing rebellion in Poland. One result was a proposal by Nicholas that Russia, Austria, and Prussia should form a close alliance for the support of divine-right absolute monarchy against the two powers, France and Great Britain, which had "the courage to profess aloud rebellion and the overthrow of all stability." The proposal was quite acceptable to Metternich and Francis I of Austria and to Frederick William III of Prussia, and it bore fruit in the secret treaty of Berlin (1833), whereby the three Great Powers of central and northern Europe declared themselves unanimously resolved to reaffirm conservatism as the unalterable basis of their policy and agreed to recognize the right of any independent sovereign to call to his aid any other independent sovereign "in cases as well of trouble within his state as of dangers threatened from without."

**The Close  
Conservative  
Alliance of  
Russia,  
Austria,  
and Prussia**

Emperor Francis I, dying in 1835, left instructions to his son and successor, Ferdinand I, to "displace nothing of the foundations of the edifice of the Austrian state; rule, and change nothing!" Ferdinand I was weak-minded, but Metternich, though aging, was strong-minded, and so long as Ferdinand reigned and Metternich ruled, the injunctions of Francis were dutifully observed throughout the Habsburg dominions. There were, it is true, the beginnings of literary nationalist movements among Czechs, Croatian Yugoslavs, Hungarians, and Italians; even German Austrians pressed for reform—the middle classes for a share in government, and peasants for the end of serfdom. But until 1848 there were no political or social reforms, and no concessions to nationalism.

**Continu-  
ance of  
Conserva-  
tism in  
Austria**



The Prussian régime was similarly reactionary. King Frederick William III's only memorable novelty was his part in effecting a tariff-union (*Zollverein*) of most of the German states. Frederick William had done away with tariff barriers between the provinces of Prussia in 1818, and by 1833 agreements had been reached by him with other German rulers for the abolition of tariffs between the several states.<sup>1</sup> The *Zollverein* was later praised as an important economic step toward the political unification of Germany, but at the time its nationalist implications were not perceived by its Prussian author, who thought only of the financial benefits which could accrue to his conservative landowning nobility from the free circulation of agricultural products within Germany. Frederick William III was succeeded on the throne of Prussia in 1840 by his son, Frederick William IV, a romantic and histrionic Hohenzollern, whose fervent Protestantism and whose devotion to class distinctions and divine-right monarchy were matched by his peculiarly emotional hatred of France and its Revolution. Frederick William IV could carry forward the principles of conservatism with a beating of drums and a fanfare of trumpets which the more prosaic Metternich had always been chary of employing.

In northwestern Europe, conservatism appeared enduringly triumphant. Neither in Sweden, to whose throne Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's marshals,<sup>2</sup> succeeded in 1818 as Charles XIV, nor in Denmark, whose king Frederick VI (1808-1839) had been a most loyal ally of Napoleon, did liberalism become significant during the entire era of Metternich. Charles of Sweden possessed a strong personality, but he early put aside his French and revolutionary traditions and grew increasingly distrustful of liberal ideas and apprehensive of any political or social change. He tolerated a theoretically liberal constitution in his "kingdom of Norway," but in Sweden he sedulously conserved the royal authority, the medieval four-chambered estates, the old distinctions among social classes, and the religious monopoly of the Lutheran state-church. It was likewise in Denmark until 1848.

<sup>1</sup> The *Zollverein* in 1833 embraced all the German states except Austria, Hanover, Oldenburg, and the three Hanseatic "free cities" of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 665, 704.

In the northern Netherlands (Holland), too, King William I, after the loss of Belgium, continued in the old way, stubbornly resisting demands for reform and sharing political power only with the commercial aristocrats of the pre-revolutionary states-general.

Of all opponents of revolution and reform, Nicholas I of Russia was the boldest and most determined. During the thirty years of his reign—from 1825 to 1855—he acted energetically to prevent liberal ideas from germinating spontaneously within his extensive realm or from being transplanted from abroad. He enforced an extremely strict censorship of the press. He devised an expensive system of passports, which made it very difficult for Russians to visit foreign countries or for aliens to enter Russia. He established an elaborate secret police to discover and punish sedition. While doing everything in his power to quarantine his empire against Western liberalism, he promoted the spread and intensification of what he termed Eastern conservatism by encouraging the so-called “Slavophil” intellectuals of his day to preach a peculiar form of Pan-Slavism—the doctrine that Russia is the natural leader and champion of all Slavic peoples and that Russia is different from, and superior to, the rest of Europe in that Russia is the holy land of political autocracy and religious orthodoxy.

In Russia  
under  
Nicholas I

So successful was the Tsar Nicholas that, when revolution again flamed in 1848 in the greater part of Europe, he could confidently command: “Submit yourselves, ye peoples, for God is with Us.” Indeed, the prophet’s mantle of ultra-conservatism which Metternich rather suddenly relinquished in 1848 was already most becoming to the Tsar Nicholas I.

#### 7. THE TRANSITION FROM AGRICULTURAL TO INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

Metternich himself fell from power in 1848, and this date may serve to mark the close of the era with which his name is usually associated. It was the era preëminently signalized by Metternich’s attempts to conserve and restore the political and social institutions which Europe had inherited or evolved in early modern times and which had been subverted in one important country by the French Revolution and threatened with subversion

all over the Continent by the career of Napoleon and the rise of liberalism and nationalism.

Yet 1848 is an arbitrary date for the ending of any era. Certainly, the reactionary principles of the "era of Metternich" continued to be cherished and practiced in central and northern Europe considerably after 1848, considerably after the disappearance of the era's namesake from the scene. They reëmerged victorious from the revolutionary storms of 1848-1849 in central Europe and remained the guiding stars of the public policy of Austria and Prussia until the 1860's, and of Russia long thereafter.

On the other hand, quite as certainly the central tenet of the "era of Metternich" was repudiated in a large part of southern Europe considerably before 1848. It was liberalism and nationalism, not conservatism and reaction, which registered enduring triumphs in the July (1830) Revolution in France, in the establishment of an independent Belgium (1831), an independent Greece (1832), and an autonomous Serbia (1829), in the loss to Spain and Portugal of their American colonies (1810-1830), in the gain of constitutional government by states of southern Germany, and in the defection of France from the police-system of the "Concert of Europe." And by 1848 it was apparent that the tide of revolution was rising and that, despite recurrent setbacks, it would eventually engulf all Europe—and probably the whole world.

What was most significant in the situation was the rapidly changing character of England. For England, aristocratic and properly Tory in the first years of Metternich's sway, was irrevocably liberal in the 1830's. A revolution had occurred in England, and a revolution much more fundamental in character and far-reaching in effect than the French Revolution or the revolutions in British politics and European thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was the Industrial Revolution.

The Puritan Revolution, the "Glorious" Revolution, the American Revolution, the Intellectual Revolution, the French Revolution, the revolutionary changes of the era of Napoleon, and the revolutionary upheavals of the era of Metternich, including the Greek Revolution and the Latin American Revolutions—all these had been wrought in a European society which was still

predominantly agricultural. It was a society in which the masses were farmers and peasants and the classes enjoyed prestige in some direct proportion to the wealth which they derived from landed estates. It was a very old and traditional society, one which still did its travelling by foot or horse and got its news from stage-coaches, and one which was relatively static.

The rise of modern capitalism, it is true, had been introducing a dynamic element into European society since at least the sixteenth century. Agriculture was gradually becoming more and more capitalistic, and its profits were being invested more and more in commercial enterprise. More and more, therefore, a commercial bourgeois class was coming to the fore. And it should be borne in mind that it was the rising bourgeoisie which tended to upset the social equilibrium of Europe and which actually provided the platforms and the most zealous leaders for all the revolutions which have been described in this volume. Being more numerous in Britain and France than in Germany or northern Europe, the middle class was more immediately successful with its revolutionary endeavors in the former countries than in the latter.

Nevertheless, in every country of the European Continent, as late as the "era of Metternich," the persons dependent on commerce and industry were greatly outnumbered by those dependent on agriculture; the bourgeoisie was but an island in a sea of peasants and landlords. So long as this situation lasted, there would be at least an even chance that the conservative principles of a Metternich could be maintained.

In England, however, during the years when Napoleon's peasant soldiers were fighting with flint-lock muskets and when Metternich was riding to international congresses in a coach pulled by four horses, an amazing revolution occurred in the industrial arts and society. Machinery was invented. Factories were built. Production of goods multiplied. Capitalism grew by leaps and bounds. Cities drew hundreds of thousands of men and women from the countryside. The era of real bourgeois supremacy dawned. On the whole, the movement was in the nature of evolution rather than revolution; it was gradual and not at all spectacular. But its political and social consequences were vastly more decisive than Napoleon or Metternich in the pending con-

test between revolution and reaction. By the 1830's, it had made England industrial and liberal.

By the 1830's, moreover, the Industrial Revolution was spreading from England to the Continent. The more it industrialized France and Belgium, the more it strengthened the liberal—and democratic—forces in those countries. The more it penetrated into central Europe, the more it contributed to the success of liberalism and nationalism in Italy and Germany. By 1848 it was binding Vienna to Paris with rails of iron, and the new railways, both literally and figuratively, were unhorsing Metternich.

Metternich was one of the last great exponents of the "old régime" of Europe—the agricultural régime—with its divine-right monarchy, its privileged landlords, its established churches, its mass of illiterate peasants, its tinsel and its gilt. He was the last great exponent of traditional society, because in his own era, unbeknown to him, the Industrial Revolution was already forming a "new régime"—an industrial régime—with its social levelling, its upstart capitalists, its urban proletariat, its individualism and liberalism and democracy, its iron and its coal. The "era of Metternich," as we have discussed it in the present chapter, may, then, fittingly close a volume. The Industrial Revolution not only developed and effected important changes in the same period of time, but it continued to develop and spread until it has fashioned the distinguishing civilization of the whole contemporary world; quite as fittingly, therefore, the detailed treatment of this epochal revolution may be left to another volume.



# APPENDIX

RULERS OF EUROPEAN STATES, 1500-1830



# RULERS OF EUROPEAN STATES, 1500-1830

## ALBANIA

*To Ottoman Empire, 1478-1913*

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## AUSTRIA

Maximilian I, <i>archduke</i> , 1493-1510	Leopold I, 1658-1705
Charles I, 1510-1520 ( <i>Holy Roman Emperor as Charles V, 1519-1558; king of Spain; prince of the Netherlands</i> )	Joseph I, 1705-1711
Ferdinand I, 1520-1564	Charles II ( <i>VI as Holy Roman Emperor</i> ), 1711-1740
Maximilian II, 1564-1576	Maria Theresa, 1740-1780
Rudolph II, 1576-1612	Joseph II, 1780-1790 ( <i>Holy Roman Emperor, 1765-1790</i> )
Matthias, 1612-1619	Leopold II, 1790-1792
Ferdinand II, 1619-1637	Francis I, <i>archduke</i> , 1792-1804 ( <i>Holy Roman Emperor, 1792-1806</i> ); <i>emperor</i> , 1804-1835
Ferdinand III, 1637-1657	
Ferdinand I, <i>emperor</i> , 1835-1848	

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## BAVARIA

Albert IV, <i>duke</i> , 1465-1508	Charles Albert, 1726-1745 ( <i>Holy Roman Emperor as Charles VII, 1742-1745</i> )
William IV, 1508-1550	Maximilian III Joseph, 1745-1777
Albert V, 1550-1579	Charles Theodore, 1778-1799
William V, 1579-1598	Maximilian IV Joseph, <i>elector</i> , 1799-1806; <i>king</i> , 1806-1825
Maximilian I, <i>elector</i> , 1598-1651	Louis I, <i>king</i> , 1825-1848
Ferdinand Maria, 1651-1679	
Maximilian II Emmanuel, 1679-1726	

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## BELGIUM

<i>To Spain, 1504-1713</i>	<i>To France, 1797-1815</i>
<i>To Austria, 1713-1797</i>	<i>To Holland, 1815-1830</i>
Leopold I, <i>king</i> , 1831-1865	



## BOHEMIA

Ladislaus' II, *king*, 1471-1516      Louis, 1516-1526  
*To Austria, 1526-1918*

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## BRANDENBURG

*See Prussia*

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## BULGARIA

*To Ottoman Empire, 1393-1878*

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## CROATIA

*To Hungary, 1102-1918*

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

*See Bohemia; Slovakia*

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## DENMARK

John, <i>king</i> , 1481-1513	Christian V, 1670-1699
Christian II, 1513-1523	Frederick IV, 1699-1730
Frederick I, 1523-1533	Christian VI, 1730-1746
Christian III, 1533-1559	Frederick V, 1746-1766
Frederick II, 1559-1588	Christian VII, 1766-1808
Christian IV, 1588-1648	Frederick VI, 1808-1839
Frederick III, 1648-1670	Christian VIII, 1839-1848

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## DUTCH NETHERLANDS

*See Holland*

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## ENGLAND

*See Great Britain*

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## ESTONIA

*To Teutonic Knights, 1346-1561      To Sweden, 1561-1721*  
*To Russian Empire, 1721-1918*

FINLAND

*To Sweden, 1290-1809*

*To Russian Empire, 1809-1918*

FLORENCE

*See Tuscany*

FRANCE

Louis XI, *king*, 1461-1483

Charles VIII, 1483-1498

Louis XII, 1498-1515

Francis I, 1515-1547

Henry II, 1547-1559

Francis II, 1559-1560

Charles IX, 1560-1574

Henry III, 1574-1589

Henry IV, 1589-1610

Louis XIII, 1610-1643

Louis XIV, 1643-1715

Louis XV, 1715-1774

Louis XVI, 1774-1792

*The First Republic, 1792-1804*

*The Convention, 1792-1795*

*The Directory, 1795-1799*

*The Consulate (Napoleon Bonaparte as First Consul), 1799-1804*

Napoleon I, *emperor*, 1804-1814

Louis XVIII, *king*, 1814-1824

Charles X, 1824-1830

Louis Philippe, 1830-1848

GERMANY

*To Holy Roman Empire, to 1806*  
*German Confederation under presidency of Austria, 1815-1866*

*See Austria; Bavaria; Holy Roman Empire; Prussia; Saxony*

GREAT BRITAIN

*Sovereigns of England and Ireland, 1485-1707*

Henry VII, *king*, 1485-1509

Henry VIII, 1509-1547

Edward VI, 1547-1553

Mary I, 1553-1558

Elizabeth, 1558-1603

James I (*VI of Scotland*), 1603-1625

Charles I, 1625-1649

Anne, 1702-1714 (*of Great Britain after 1707*)

*The Commonwealth, 1649-1660*  
(Oliver Cromwell)

Charles II, 1660-1685

James II (*VII of Scotland*), 1685-1688

William III and Mary II, 1689-1694

William III, 1694-1702

*Sovereigns of Scotland, 1488-1707*

James IV, *king*, 1488-1513

James V, 1513-1542

Mary (Stuart), 1542-1567

James VI, 1567-1625 (*James I of England, 1603-1625*)

[*Succession as in England and Ireland, 1603-1707, and as in Great Britain after 1707*]

*Sovereigns of Great Britain*

Anne, <i>queen</i> , 1707-1714	George III, 1760-1820
George I, <i>king</i> , 1714-1727	George IV, 1820-1830
George II, 1727-1760	William IV, 1830-1837
Victoria, <i>queen</i> , 1837-1901	

*Some Prominent Ministers of Great Britain*

Sir Robert Walpole, 1721-1742	George Canning, 1827
William Pitt (earl of Chatham), 1756-1761	Duke of Wellington, 1828-1830
George Grenville, 1763-1765	Earl Grey, 1830-1834 (Viscount Palmerston, <i>Foreign Secretary</i> )
William Pitt (earl of Chatham), 1766-1768	Viscount Melbourne, 1834
Lord North, 1770-1782	Sir Robert Peel, 1834-1835
Earl of Shelburne, 1782-1783	Viscount Melbourne, 1835-1841 (Viscount Palmerston, <i>Foreign Secretary</i> )
William Pitt (the younger), 1783-1801, 1804-1806	Sir Robert Peel, 1841-1846
Earl of Liverpool, 1812-1827 (Viscount Castlereagh, <i>Foreign Secretary</i> , 1812-1822; George Canning, <i>Foreign Secretary</i> , 1822-1827)	Lord John Russell (Earl Russell), 1846-1852 (Viscount Palmerston, <i>Foreign Secretary</i> )

## GREECE

<i>To Ottoman Empire</i> , 1453-1829	<i>Republic</i> , 1829-1832
Otto I, <i>king</i> , 1832-1862	

## HOLLAND

<i>To Spain</i> , 1504-1581	William IV, <i>nominal stadholder</i> , 1711-1747; <i>hereditary stadholder</i> , 1747-1751
William the Silent, <i>stadholder</i> , 1581-1584	William V, 1751-1795
Maurice, 1584-1625	<i>Republic</i> , 1795-1806
Frederick Henry, 1625-1647	Louis Bonaparte, <i>king</i> , 1806-1810
William II, 1647-1650	<i>To France</i> , 1810-1813
John DeWitt, <i>grand pensionary</i> , 1650-1672	William I, <i>king</i> , 1813-1840
William III, <i>stadholder</i> , 1672-1702 ( <i>king of England and Scotland</i> , 1689-1702)	William II, 1840-1849

## HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Maximilian I, <i>emperor</i> , 1493-1519	Maximilian II, 1564-1576
Charles V, 1519-1558	Rudolph II, 1576-1612
Ferdinand I, 1558-1564	Matthias, 1612-1619

## RULERS OF EUROPEAN STATES, 1500-1830 805

Ferdinand II, 1619-1637  
Ferdinand III, 1637-1657  
Leopold I, 1658-1705  
Joseph I, 1705-1711  
Charles VI, 1711-1740  
Charles VII, 1742-1745

Francis I, 1745-1765  
Joseph II, 1765-1790  
Leopold II, 1790-1792  
Francis II, 1792-1806 (*after 1804  
as Francis I, emperor of Austria*)

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### HUNGARY

Ladislaus II, *king*, 1490-1516

Louis II, 1516-1526

*Same rulers as Austria, 1526-1918*

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### IRELAND

*See Great Britain*

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### ITALY

*See Lombardy; Naples; Papacy; Sardinia; Savoy; Sicily; Tuscany; Venice*

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### LATVIA (LETTLAND)

*To Teutonic Knights, 1237-1549  
To Poland, 1549-1629*

*To Sweden, 1629-1721  
To Russian Empire, 1721-1918*

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### LITHUANIA

*To Poland, 1501-1793*

*To Russian Empire, 1793-1918*

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### LIVONIA

*See Latvia*

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### LOMBARDY (MILAN)

*Sforza family, 1450-1535  
To Spain, 1535-1714*

*To Austria, 1714-1797  
To France, 1797-1815  
To Austria, 1815-1860*

## APPENDIX

## MONTENEGRO

- To Ottoman Empire, 1490-1696* Sava and Vasilije, 1735-1782  
 Danilo, *prince-bishop*, 1696-1735 Peter I, *prince*, 1782-1830  
 Peter II, 1830-1851
- 

## NAPLES

- To Aragon (Spain), 1443-1713* Joseph Bonaparte, 1806-1808  
*To Austria, 1713-1738* Joachim Murat, 1809-1815  
 Charles III, *king*, 1738-1759 (*king of Spain, 1759-1788*) Ferdinand I, 1815-1825  
 Ferdinand IV, 1759-1806 Francis I, 1825-1830  
 Ferdinand II, 1830-1859
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## NETHERLANDS, BELGIAN

*See Belgium*

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## NETHERLANDS, DUTCH

*See Holland*

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## NORWAY

- To Denmark, 1397-1814* *To Sweden, 1814-1905*
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## OTTOMAN EMPIRE

- |   |                          |
|---|--------------------------|
| Mohammed II, <i>sultan</i> , 1451-1481    | Mohammed IV, 1648-1687   |
| Bayezid II, 1481-1512                     | Suleiman III, 1687-1691  |
| Selim I, 1512-1520                        | Ahmed II, 1691-1695      |
| Suleiman II, "the Magnificent," 1520-1566 | Mustapha II, 1695-1703   |
| Selim II, 1566-1574                       | Ahmed III, 1703-1730     |
| Murad III, 1574-1595                      | Mahmud I, 1730-1754      |
| Mohammed III, 1595-1603                   | Othman III, 1754-1757    |
| Ahmed I, 1603-1617                        | Mustapha III, 1757-1773  |
| Mustapha I, 1617-1618                     | Abdul Hamid I, 1773-1789 |
| Othman II, 1618-1623                      | Selim III, 1789-1807     |
| Murad IV, 1623-1640                       | Mustapha IV, 1807-1808   |
| Ibrahim, 1640-1648                        | Mahmud II, 1808-1839     |
|   | Abdul Medjid, 1839-1861  |

PAPACY

Alexander VI, <i>pope</i> , 1492-1503	Urban VIII, 1623-1644
Pius III, 1503	Innocent X, 1644-1655
Julius II, 1503-1513	Alexander VII, 1655-1667
Leo X, 1513-1521	Clement IX, 1667-1669
Adrian VI, 1522-1523	Clement X, 1670-1676
Clement VII, 1523-1534	Innocent XI, 1676-1689
Paul III, 1534-1549	Alexander VIII, 1689-1691
Julius III, 1550-1555	Innocent XII, 1691-1700
Marcellus II, 1555	Clement XI, 1700-1721
Paul IV, 1555-1559	Innocent XIII, 1721-1724
Pius IV, 1559-1565	Benedict XIII, 1724-1730
Pius V, 1566-1572	Clement XII, 1730-1740
Gregory XIII, 1572-1585	Benedict XIV, 1740-1758
Sixtus V, 1585-1590	Clement XIII, 1758-1769
Urban VII, 1590	Clement XIV, 1769-1774
Gregory XIV, 1590-1591	Pius VI, 1775-1799
Innocent IX, 1591	Pius VII, 1800-1823
Clement VIII, 1592-1605	Leo XII, 1823-1829
Leo XI, 1605	Pius VIII, 1829-1830
Paul V, 1605-1621	Gregory XVI, 1831-1846
Gregory XV, 1621-1623	Pius IX, 1846-1878

PIEDMONT

*See Savoy*

POLAND

John I Albert, <i>king</i> , 1492-1501	Stanislaus I Leszczyński, 1704-1709
Alexander, 1501-1506	Augustus II ( <i>restored</i> ), 1709-1733
Sigismund I, 1506-1548	Stanislaus I Leszczyński ( <i>restored</i> ), 1733-1734
Sigismund II, 1548-1572	Augustus III, 1734-1763 ( <i>elector of Saxony</i> )
Henry of Valois, 1573-1574 ( <i>Henry III of France, 1574-1589</i> )	Stanislaus II Poniatowski, 1764-1795
Stephen Bathory, 1575-1586 ( <i>prince of Transylvania</i> )	<i>Partitioned among Russia, Prussia, and Austria, 1795-1918</i>
Sigismund III Vasa, 1587-1632	<i>Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, 1807-1815</i>
Ladislaus IV, 1632-1648	<i>'Congress' Poland, 1815-1831</i>
John II Casimir, 1648-1668	Alexander I, <i>king</i> , 1815-1825
Michael Wisniowiecki, 1669-1673	Nicholas I, 1825-1831
John III Sobieski, 1674-1696	<i>To Russia, 1831-1918</i>
Augustus II, 1697-1704 ( <i>elector of Saxony</i> )	

## PORTUGAL

Emmanuel I, <i>king</i> , 1495-1521	Joseph, 1750-1777
John III, 1521-1557	Maria I and Peter III, 1777-1786
Sebastian, 1557-1578	Maria I, 1786-1816
Henry, 1578-1580	John VI, 1816-1826
<i>To Spain</i> , 1580-1640	Peter IV, 1826 ( <i>Peter I, emperor of Brazil</i> , 1826-1831)
John IV, 1640-1656	Maria II, 1826-1828
Alphonso VI, 1656-1667	Miguel, 1828-1834
Peter II, 1667-1706	Maria II, 1834-1853
John V, 1706-1750	

## PRUSSIA

*Electors of Brandenburg*

Joachim I, <i>elector</i> , 1499-1535	George William, 1619-1640
Joachim II, 1535-1571	Frederick William, "The Great Elector," 1640-1688
John George, 1571-1598	Frederick III, 1688-1701 ( <i>Frederick I, king in Prussia</i> , 1701-1713)
Joachim Frederick, 1598-1608	
John Sigismund, 1608-1619	

*Kings of Prussia*

Frederick I, <i>king</i> , 1701-1713	Frederick William II, 1786-1797
Frederick William I, 1713-1740	Frederick William III, 1797-1840
Frederick II, "the Great," 1740-1786	Frederick William IV, 1840-1861

## RUMANIA

*To Ottoman Empire*, 1500-1856

## RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Ivan III, "the Great," <i>tsar</i> , 1462-1505	Catherine I, 1725-1727
Basil IV, 1505-1533	Peter II, 1727-1730
Ivan IV, "the Terrible," 1533-1584	Anna, 1730-1740
Theodore I, 1584-1598	Ivan VI, 1740-1741
Boris Godunov, 1598-1605	Elizabeth, 1741-1762
Michael, 1613-1645	Peter III, 1762
Alexius, 1645-1676	Catherine II, "the Great," 1762-1796
Theodore II, 1676-1682	Paul, 1796-1801
Ivan V and Peter I, 1682-1689	Alexander I, 1801-1825
Peter I, "the Great," 1689-1725	Nicholas I, 1825-1855

SARDINIA

<i>To Aragon (Spain), 1326-1713</i>	<i>Savoy, who became kings of Sardinia,</i>
<i>To Austria, 1713-1720</i>	1720
<i>Joined with Piedmont under dukes of</i>	<i>See Savoy</i>

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SAVOY

*Dukes of Savoy*

Philibert II, <i>duke</i> , 1497-1504	Victor Amadeus I, 1630-1637
Charles III, 1504-1553	Charles Emmanuel II, 1638-1675
Emmanuel Philibert, 1553-1580	Victor Amadeus II, 1675-1730 ( <i>king</i>
Emmanuel I, "the Great," 1580-1630	<i>of Sardinia, 1720-1730)</i>

*Kings of Sardinia*

Victor Amadeus II, <i>king</i> , 1720-1730	Charles Emmanuel IV, 1796-1802
Charles Emmanuel III, 1730-1773	Victor Emmanuel I, 1802-1821
• Victor Amadeus III, 1773-1796	Charles Felix, 1821-1831
Charles Albert, 1831-1848	

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SAXONY

Frederick, "the Wise," <i>elector</i> , 1486-1525	Frederick Augustus I, 1694-1733 ( <i>king of Poland as Augustus II, 1697-1704, 1709-1733)</i>
John, 1525-1532	
John Frederick, 1532-1547	Frederick Augustus II, 1733-1763 ( <i>king of Poland as Augustus III, 1734-1763)</i>
Maurice, 1547-1553	
Augustus, 1553-1586	Frederick Augustus III, <i>elector</i> , 1763-1806; <i>king</i> , 1806-1827
Christian I, 1586-1591	Anthony, <i>king</i> , 1827-1836
Christian II, 1591-1611	Frederick Augustus II, 1836-1854
John George I, 1611-1656	
John George II, III, and IV, 1656-1694	

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SCOTLAND

*See Great Britain*

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SERBIA

<i>To Ottoman Empire, 1386-1812</i>	Milan, 1839
Karageorge, <i>prince</i> , 1812-1813	Michael, 1839-1842
Miloš, 1817-1839	Alexander, 1842-1859



## SICIL

*To Aragon (Spain), 1409-1713*  
*To Savoy, 1713-1720*

*To Austria, 1720-1736*  
*To Naples, 1736-1860*

## SLAVONIA

*See Croatia*

## SLOVAKIA

*To Hungary, 906-1918*

## SLOVENIA (CARNIOLA, ETC.)

*To Austria, 1300-1809*

*To France, 1809-1813*

*To Austria, 1813-1918*

## SPAIN

Ferdinand and Isabella, *king and queen*, 1479-1504

Ferdinand and Philip I, 1504-1506

Ferdinand and Charles I, 1506-1516

Charles I, 1516-1556 (*Holy Roman Emperor as Charles V*)

Philip II, 1556-1598

Philip III, 1598-1621

Philip IV, 1621-1665

Charles II, 1665-1700

Philip V, 1700-1746

Ferdinand VI, 1746-1759

Charles III, 1759-1788

Charles IV, 1788-1808

Joseph Bonaparte, 1808-1813

Ferdinand VII, 1813-1833

Isabella II, 1833-1868

## SWEDEN

*To Denmark, 1397-1523*

Gustavus I Vasa, *king*, 1523-1560

Eric XIV, 1560-1568

John III, 1568-1592

Sigismund, 1592-1599 (*king of Poland, 1587-1632*)

Charles IX, 1599-1611

Gustavus II Adolphus, 1611-1632

Christina, 1632-1654

Charles X, 1654-1660

Charles XI, 1660-1697

Charles XII, 1697-1718

Ulrica Eleonora, 1718-1720

Frederick I, 1720-1751

Adolphus Frederick, 1751-1771

Gustavus III, 1771-1792

Gustavus IV, 1792-1809

Charles XIII, 1809-1818

Charles XIV, Bernadotte, 1818-1844

Oscar I, 1844-1859

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## TUSCANY

Alessandro Medici, <i>duke</i> , 1523-1537	Francis, 1737-1765 ( <i>duke of Lorraine; Holy Roman Emperor</i> , 1745-1765)
Cosimo I, <i>grand-duke</i> , 1537-1574	
Francis I, 1574-1587	
Ferdinand I, 1587-1605	Leopold I, 1765-1790 ( <i>Hol. Roman Emperor</i> , 1790-1792)
Cosimo II, 1605-1621	Ferdinand III, 1790-1801
Ferdinand II, 1621-1670	<i>To France</i> , 1801-1815
Cosimo III, 1670-1723	Ferdinand III, 1815-1824
John Gaston, 1723-1737	
Leopold II, 1824-1860	

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*See Naples; Sicily*

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<i>To Austria</i> , 1797-1805	<i>To Austria</i> , 1814-1866

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